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THE

DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. CXVI.

JANUARY—APRIL, 1895.

LONDON :

BURNS & OATES, LIMITED. J. DONOVAN, 19 HENRIETTA STREET, W.C.

DUBLIN: M. H. GILL & SON.

NEW YORK, CINCINNATI & CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

DUBLIN REVIEW

9th YEAR.—No. 232.

1895.

VOL. 117.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY 1895.

ART. I.—CLERICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE IN
DEVON IN 1287.

BY THE BISHOP OF CLIFTON.

WHEN we wish to revive for the information of ourselves or others the life of a period long passed away, we must be grateful for any contemporary records that will tell us what the people of that period did and said and thought. Any record that throws light on the social habits of the time, on the details of domestic economy, the value of land and livestock, the rate of wages, the relations between master and servant, the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, under which they lived, the statutes and customs with regard to marriage, the dues paid to the clergy, the discipline of the Church, the regulations with regard to the keeping up of sacred edifices, the maintenance of public worship, the penalties by which ecclesiastical and civil authorities enforced their enactments—all these things make up the details of a picture of the times, and any document that supplies them helps to make that picture more complete and truthful. This is the reason why the students of history welcome so gratefully the publication of ancient chartularies, and rent-rolls, and the petty details of the journeys and daily expenses of kings, bishops, and abbots.

In this country the publication of the Episcopal Registers, which Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph is carrying out so conscientiously, throws incidentally a flood of light on many matters

apparently outside the episcopal rule, and when completed will enable us to form a far more accurate picture of Devon and Cornwall in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries than would have been possible without such aid.* Our knowledge of Devon in the thirteenth century chiefly depends upon the Register of Bishop Bronescombe, which commences with 1257, and carries us on to 1280, and then the Register of Bishop Quivil brings us to 1291, after which the few fragments that Prebendary Randolph has been able to collect from various ancient documents, serve to some extent to supply the loss of any register of the episcopate of Bishop Bytton.

Prebendary Randolph remarks of Bishop Bronescombe :

"It is evident that a great wave of zeal for the houses of God had swept over the whole diocese, for we find that between September, 1259, and the end of 1268, the Bishop was called upon to dedicate eighty-eight re-built or enlarged churches." (*Preface*, p. xii.)

The same Bishop revised the Statutes of the Cathedral in 1268, and after that, by more than one visitation, took effectual means to make his revision a practical reform. The fact is, the thirteenth century was a period of great religious revival throughout Christendom. The rise and rapid progress of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders had stirred every class in society, from the highest to the lowest. Their intellectual activity had invaded the great Universities of Bologna, Padua, Paris, Cologne, and Oxford. Both Orders had found in England a warm friend and patron in the holy and learned Robert Grossetête, the great Bishop of Lincoln. In Italy they had given that stimulus to art which produced Cimabue, Giotto, and the early Italian masters, and some traces of the same artistic development were to be found in this country. But the more direct results of the religious revival were manifested by the number of councils that were held all over the country in this century. In 1236 a "Pan-Anglican Council," as Lindwood calls it, was held in St. Paul's, London, at which both the archbishops and nearly all the bishops of England were present, under the presidency of Cardinal Otho, Legate of Pope

* This paper was written before the publication of the fourth instalment of these "Episcopal Registers," consisting of the first part of Bishop Grandisson's Register. This is edited, not in the form of an Index, but in chronological order, as in the original. It is far the most valuable of the series.

Gregory IX. It passed a number of statutes, correcting abuses, and prescribing salutary reforms. A similar council was held in the same church, under Cardinal Othobonus in 1266, and Diocesan Synods published and supplemented its decrees according to the needs of each diocese. These were all of them the outcome of the fourth Council of Lateran held in 1215. Thus, in 1223, Richard Poore drew up, in a Synod at Salisbury, a number of constitutions, which repeat almost the very words of the Lateran Council. In the following year the same decrees substantially were promulgated by a Scotch Provincial Council in 84 Chapters. In 1230 the Bishop of Lincoln circulated throughout his diocese a series of questions bearing on the same points. The constitutions published by St. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1236, are chiefly concerned with the relations between the Church and the civil government, and so are those drawn up by the Synod of Lambeth under Archbishop Boniface in 1262. The constitutions of Gideon of Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury in 1256, deal for the most part with tithes, and the duties of Cathedral Chapters. But the anonymous *Constitutiones Synodales*, which Wilkins attributes to a Synod of Lichfield; the copious Statutes of Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester in 1240; of Richard, Bishop of Chichester in 1246; of Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham in 1255; of a Synod of Norwich in 1257, and another Synod at Merton in the following year, are all upon the same lines as the Statutes of the Synod, which I wish in this paper to introduce to you, and which was held at Exeter in 1287, under Bishop Quivil.

The Statutes are divided into fifty-four chapters, of which the first eight are on the Sacraments of the Church. Chapters ix. to xvi. are on churches and chapels, their consecration, their cemeteries, their ornaments, their immunities, and their repairs. Chapters xvii. to xx. deal with the life and morals of the clergy, their residence, and the divine office. Chapters xxii. and xxiii. are on the religious obligations of parishioners. Chapter xxiv. decrees that clerics must not engage in business. Chapters xxv. to xxvi. are on church property, and chapter xxviii. on the number and stipends of vicars, or, as we should call them, curates; while certain ecclesiastical scholarships are regulated by chapter xxix. Clerics are forbidden to summon

one another before secular courts by chapter xx., while chapters xxxi. and xxxii. are on rural chapters. The two following chapters deal with lawsuits and advocates, and chapter xxv. is on the arrest of excommunicated persons. Chapters xxxvi. to xxxix. are on parishes and their rectors, followed by a chapter on archdeacons' visitations. Clerics are warned in chapter xli. not to bring themselves under the jurisdiction of secular tribunals by poaching, and regulations concerning their property are laid down in the next chapter. Then come two chapters on the promulgation of sentences of excommunication. Chapter xlv. is on matrimonial causes, followed by three chapters on appeals, questing for alms, and caution in the authentication of relics and the veneration of saints. Chapter xlix. is on Jews and their slaves. The next three chapters are on wills and testamentary provisions, and chapters liii. and liv. are on tithes, and Christmas and Easter offerings. The last chapter is a summary of the sentences of excommunication.

These statutes are followed by an injunction, issued by Bishop Quivil to his clergy, on the method of hearing confessions, with an examination of conscience according to the Ten Commandments.

In the wide range of subjects embraced by these fifty-four chapters, it is not easy to select those that will be equally interesting to everyone. I confess that the most interesting to myself are those which set forth the doctrine and practice of the Church in Devon concerning the sacraments.

[On "Baptism," we may note that the Synod laid great stress on every Catholic knowing well the form necessary for valid baptism. In case of doubtful baptism, the priest was to use this form: "Non intendo te rebaptizare; sed si non es baptizatus, ego baptizo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti." (c. ii.) "Confirmation" is to be received before the child is three years old, and if a child be found unconfirmed above that age, its parents are to fast on bread and water every Friday until it is confirmed. The *confirmati* are to wear a bandage round their foreheads for three days after confirmation, and then their heads are to be washed in the baptistery by a priest or a deacon, and the bandage is to be burned. (c. iii.)

Stringent regulations are made about the reverent celebra-

tion of Mass ; among which we may observe that one of the two candles must always be of wax. The parishioners are to provide two torches to be lighted during the Canon, and fifteen days' indulgence is granted to those who contribute to this act of devotion. The Synod says :

Because by these words : *Hoc est enim Corpus Meum*, and not by any others, the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, let not the priest elevate the host until he has fully pronounced these words, lest instead of the Creator the creature be adored by the people. And let the host be so lifted up on high, that it may be seen by the bystanders ; for by this the devotion of the faithful is stirred up, and they receive a merited increase of faith.

The small bell is to be rung to prepare them, and at the elevation the great bell is to sound three times. The hosts reserved for the sick are not to be kept more than seven days, but "on the following Sunday are to be consumed by the celebrating priest before the ablutions, or by another, so that it is done worthily and devoutly." It goes on to prescribe :

When the Eucharist shall be taken to the sick, let the priest vest himself in a surplice and stole, unless the distance of the place or the inclemency of the weather make this impossible. Let the Body of our Lord be laid in a most clean burse, and that enclosed with a lock in a clean and honourable pyx of silver or ivory, or other fitting material, and let the priest carry it on his breast with a lantern carried before him, because it is the brightness of the everlasting Light which is carried. Let a small bell also go before him, at the sound of which the faithful may be moved to adore Our Lord's Body by humbly bowing themselves down, and if possible falling on their knees. And, that in so doing their labour may be meritorious, to all such, who do this with a pure and devout heart, we mercifully remit thirteen days of their prescribed penance, that no one may think it burthensome to render so much service to his Creator. But lest, by the instigation of the devil, any troublesome doubt about the Body of Christ should take possession of the minds of the laity, before they communicate, let them be taught by the priests that under the species of bread they receive that (Body) which hung upon the Cross for their salvation ; and they receive in the chalice that which was poured out from the Body of Christ ; and let them be led on to (sound faith in) this, by examples, reasons, and miracles which have taken place up to this time. (c. iv.)

This is the only passage I have ever been able to find which can be understood to imply that Bishop Quivil maintained the necessity of Communion under both species. It is evident

from the preceding context that it implies no such thing, as there is no direction about Communion, either of the sick or of the whole, under any species but one.

In the chapter on "Penance," the archdeacons are to select in each rural-deanery one or more priests of superior learning and prudence, "who shall, in our stead, hear the confessions of the deans, rectors, vicars, and parochial clergy, in all things without prejudice to the authority of our general penitentiary, to whose judgment they shall have recourse in doubtful and more grave cases, unless it may happen that a question arises which it is inexpedient to settle without consultation with ourselves." The faithful are to be brought to confession three times a year, before Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, or at least in Lent, at its beginning, that they may not lose their part in the suffrages of the church. "If anyone does not go to Confession and Communion once in the year, let him be debarred from entrance into church while he lives, and when he dies let him not have ecclesiastical burial." Those who keep people in prison, and deny them the means of going to Confession are to be refused Christian burial. "Women are to confess in an open place, not that they may be heard, but that they may be seen." (c. v.)

In the chapter on "Extreme Unction," it is laid down that if anyone die without the sacraments through the fault or absence of the priest, "the priest convicted of this, shall be forthwith suspended from the celebration of the divine (mysteries); and that suspension shall by no means be relaxed until he has by a fitting penance expiated so grievous a crime." (c. vi.)

The chapters on churches, and their furniture, were described in my paper on "A Visitation of St. Mary Church.]"*

Matrimony is always an interesting subject. Let us see what was laid down in this county in the thirteenth century by our Synod. Chapter vii. orders :

That this Sacrament be celebrated with great discretion and reverence, in honourable places, and at a suitable time, with all modesty and forethought; not in taverns, in drinking and gluttony, not in secret places or hidden and suspicious corners, but openly and soberly.

* The part within brackets was not read before the Devonshire Association.

It is perhaps not generally known that the proclamation of banns was first prescribed by the Council of Lateran, and probably first distinctly made obligatory in Devon by this Synod, which, in order to avoid those hopelessly complicated mistakes which sometimes occurred, enacts:

That no marriage, nor even espousals, be hereafter contracted except in the presence of the rector of the church, or a priest of the parish, and three trustworthy witnesses, who may be able to testify to the truth of the marriage. And when such marriages are to be solemnised, there shall be three proclamations in the churches of the parishes in which the contracting parties dwell, made publicly on Sundays and festivals, by the parish priests. These publications must be at least eight days apart, so that if any one has any impediment to allege, he may have time to do so. And the priests must themselves take every care to investigate if any lawful impediment exist, and notify it in writing to the priest who is to solemnise the marriage. And if there appears any probable conjecture against the union of the contracting parties, the contract is to be expressly interdicted until it has been canonically decided what ought to be done. He who opposes the marriage, and refuses to be put on his oath, or being sworn cannot prove his allegations, is to be canonically punished.

It appears that some unscrupulous adventurers got married to different women in different parts of the country. The Bishop, therefore, forbids, under pain of excommunication, any stranger being allowed to contract a marriage with any one in this Diocese, unless he brings letters from his own Bishop certifying that he is free to marry. Even those within the diocese, but in different archdeaconries, are required to produce letters from the archdeacon. At the door of the church, the priest who blesses the marriage is to question the parties publicly, whether their consent is free or whether they are under the influence of fear or violence. If this proves to be the case, he is forbidden to proceed any further, on pain of three years' suspension from his office.

In the chapter on Penance, priests are admonished in hearing the Confessions of married people to be careful not to impose such a penance that may be the occasion of either party suspecting the other of some great crime. Medical men, when called to the aid of the sick, are admonished that it is their duty to see that the sick person sends for the physician of souls, "since sometimes corporal disease proceeds

from sin, and when the soul is healed, the corporal malady is more wholesomely treated."

The clergy are earnestly admonished to set an edifying example to their flocks, and to avoid all ostentation and all that may foster pride. They are commanded

not to make use of silk clothes, either green or red, nor to wear embroidered sleeves or stockings, nor to have any but black shoes, nor to use gold-mounted bits, saddles, brooches, or spurs, nor any other superfluous ornament; but in their dress and bodily bearing let them shew their profession, and thus, both in condition of mind and in habit of body, study to please both God and men (cap. 17). They are not to go to banquets, unless specially invited by the master of the house, and then they are not to give way to gluttony, but return home soberly, as soon as possible after dinner. They are never to frequent taverns, except they are travelling for the sake of a pilgrimage. They are not to mix themselves up with actors or jesters, not to play dice or cards, or to join and watch others playing, and not to presume to go to public shows, nor to hunt with dogs or falcons.

There is a sad chapter, *De concubinariis*, which shows that clerical scandals of the worst kind were not unknown in Devonshire, and that it was necessary sometimes to have recourse to the secular arm for their repression.

With a view to do away with the abuse of pluralities, all rectors who are holding more than one benefice are required to show to the Bishop, before next Michaelmas, their dispensation for holding these benefices, on pain of being deprived, as the Council of Lateran ordered.

There is a curious chapter on the inquiry to be made as to the learning of ecclesiastical persons. The archdeacons are to conduct the examination, and report to the Bishop any "enormous defect in learning, in the case of rectors, vicars, or any priests." When we read a little further, we are startled by what was considered an "enormous defect." Inquiry is actually to be made whether the priests know the Ten Commandments, explain them to the people, and earnestly preach their observance. Also whether they know the Seven Deadly Sins, and preach to the people to flee from them. Whether they know the Seven Sacraments of the Church, and how each of them has to be conferred. Also, whether they have at least a simple understanding of the Christian Articles of Faith that are contained in the Psalm, *Quicumque vult*, "and in the

two creeds, in which they are bound to instruct the people committed to their care the more diligently, as no one can be saved who does not believe firmly the Catholic Faith."

Priests who are found labouring under too great ignorance of the matters above mentioned are to be suspended forthwith from their priestly office, and particularly from having the care of souls. And, for the better information of the clergy, the Synod orders that

"every one on whom the rule of a parochial Church devolves, shall draw up a short summary, which will be very useful, or to speak more truly, necessary to him, extracted from different treatises in a compendious form, and have it written out between this and Michaelmas, and thoroughly understand the same, and make use of it, on pain of a fine of one mark (13s. 4d.) to be paid to the archdeacon of the place. And if the archdeacon shall be remiss in exacting it, and does not receive it, we will that the same archdeacon be bound to pay two marks towards the building (Fabric Fund) of the Exeter Cathedral." (Cap. 20.)

Father Wallace, in his Life of St. Edmund Rich, relates a story, which, he says, "discloses an appalling ignorance on the part of the rural clergy." It is taken from the record of a Visitation made by Wanda, Dean of Salisbury, in 1220.

It appears that the Dean, in the course of his Visitation, came to a place called Sunning, not far from Reading. The vicar of this place employed the services of a number of clerics, whom the dean thought fit to submit to an examination. The first who was examined was one Simon, who said he had been ordained sub-deacon and deacon by an Irish bishop, acting as the Bishop of Lincoln's delegate. He was ordained priest by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, in 1210. The examiners first tried him with the Gospel of the First Sunday in Advent, but he could not translate it. They then turned to the Canon of the Mass, and pointing to the words, "*Te igitur clementissime Pater—supplices rogamus ac petimus,*" asked him in what case *Te* was. He did not know, nor could he say by what word it was governed. They told him to look at the text, and try to find by what word it was governed. Simon then said it was governed by *Pater*. Asked why he thought so, he replied "that he was under the impression that the Father governed all things." The examiners pursued their inquiries, but elicited nothing from Simon. He did not know the different antiphons; nor the hymn-tunes; nor even *Nocte surgentes*: he did not know by heart any part of the Divine Offices, or of the Psalter. When the examination was over, he ventured to observe that he thought it very unbecoming that the dean should examine him after he had once been ordained. Whereupon he was asked on what he was examined when he

was ordained priest. He replied, he could not remember. We are not surprised to find that he is pronounced *sufficientur illiteratus*.*

The recitation of the Canonical Hours is made binding on all the clergy, and rules are laid down for their being chanted in choir where this is possible. But, where they cannot be chanted, the priest is not to leave his Church in the morning until he has said his Divine Office, and he is not to say Mass until he has said Matins and Prime. The Bishop had been informed that some priests, while absent from home, allow the bells to be rung, and when the people come to Church, they find no priest, and are told: "He is just gone away." Much scandal is thus given, and the Synod orders the suspension of such a priest. Certain deacons seem to have presumed to hear confessions, and give penances, probably because they were appointed to a benefice, with the obligation of being ordained priest within the year.

The Synod forbids laymen to stand in the chancel, or to bring dogs into the Church, or make a noise in the nave while Service is going on. Parishioners are admonished of their duty to hear Mass on festivals, and especially on Sundays; and all buying and selling except of food, is forbidden on those days. Even food is not to be sold until after the Mass is over. Besides Sundays, forty-one of these festivals are enumerated, including those of the Patron of the Church, and the Dedication of the Church. Besides the Feasts of Christmas, the Circumcision and the Epiphany, and the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles are mentioned, also those of St. Gregory the Great, of St. George, St. Augustine and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Priests are strictly forbidden to accept the office of judge in criminal Courts under pain of deprivation. If this Synod had been held at the beginning of the century, Henry de Bracton could never have been Chief Justice of England, and probably his valuable work on English Law would never have been written. They are not even to be present when cases of life and death are tried. They are also forbidden to accept the offices of executor, steward, proctor, or bailiff to lay people, and

* *Life of St. Edmund*, pp. 111, 112. The original Latin of this Visitation is given from the *Registrum S. Ormundi*, fol. xliii, by Mr. Maskill in "Ancient Liturgy," &c., pp. 253-4.

This applies even to those in minor orders. No ecclesiastical benefice is to be farmed out to laymen without the special licence of the Bishop. It seems that some priests had let their benefices out to laymen, who lived in the Church-House with their wives and families, as their bailiffs, to the great scandal and ruin of the Churches. Hence, all such alienations are prohibited under the severest censures; and all who have thus got possession of ecclesiastical property are bound, on pain of excommunication, to surrender it.

It is interesting to know what was in those days considered a proper stipend for a vicar, or curate, as he would now be called in this country. There were two kinds of vicars, perpetual and occasional. The Synod lays down that a perpetual curate is to have certain parochial dues definitely assigned to his vicarage, in value, at least equal to the stipend of a chaplain, five marks, or £3 6s. 8d., which would be about £80 a year in the present day. The Synod says the vicar will be able to keep up a certain modest hospitality, and provide for sickness, old age, or other disablements. This is in the case of a church of which the tithes amount to about forty marks, or £500 or £600 a year now. In the case of larger benefices the vicar's portion is to be increased. In no case is the vicar to receive less than 40s. a year, or £72 of our money. Where vicars have engaged themselves for less than this we require the rector to release the vicar from his contract, and promise on his oath that he will give the sum named. The Synod adds, somewhat sarcastically, rectors are not to think themselves hardly used in this matter, because they can always personally serve their churches, and so dispense with the expense of the curate.

Chapter xxix. puzzled me for a long time. Its title is, "That benefices of Holy Water be assigned to scholars only." I could not conceive what a "Holy Water Benefice" could be. The Chapter itself takes it for granted that everyone knows what is meant of, and does not explain. But Du Cange quotes a statute of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury:

We will, moreover, that there be selected by the care of the parishoners two clerical scholars to live on the alms of the parishioners, who shall carry the Holy Water in the parish church and chapel on Sundays and Festivals, serving in the divine offices, and be released for school discipline for those days.

The same practice is mentioned by Giles, Bishop of Salisbury in 1256, and by Alexander, Bishop of Coventry in 1237. From which it appears that not only did the parish priest sprinkle the church and people with Holy Water before Mass, but that after the High Mass two boys, who served at the altar, used to carry the Holy Water through the parish to those who wished for it, with a short prayer, and that in return the boys received offerings from the faithful, which served to support them during their time of schooling. These "Holy Water Benefices" seem to have been much in request, and it was necessary to restrict the appointment to those for whom they were originally intended, viz., students for the Church. It would be useless to have given them to boys who had no opportunity of going to school, and therefore the Synod confines them to youths within ten miles of a school. They are to be awarded to those who give the best promise of profiting by the schooling.

This support of clerical students by the parishioners naturally leads us to turn to chapter xlv., "On those who quest for alms." The century which had given birth to the Mendicant Orders could not fail to produce a vast number of impostors, who, under the cloak of religion, preyed upon the liberality of pious people, and by the scandal which they gave brought discredit upon the Mendicant Orders. Our Synod thus describes these begging impostors :

They are generally ignorant persons, and of disreputable life ; but they make themselves out to be learned, and put on the outward appearance of sanctity. They assume, with presumptuous audacity, the office of preaching, although they have never had any knowledge of the word of God. Amongst other errors which they put forth, they mendaciously assert that they have more and larger Indulgences to dispense than they really have, in order that thus they may entice the minds of simple people to bestow on them greater alms, which they are not ashamed to spend with prodigality, in the sight of everyone, in drinking and impurity. And hence it has come to pass that true and useful Indulgences are despised by some.

In order to put a stop to these abuses the Synod forbids the faithful to receive any beggar of alms unless he is armed with the Bishop's letters. Even then he is not allowed to preach, but the parish priests are faithfully and openly to explain to the people his object in soliciting alms, and what

Indulgences he has power to publish, according to the tenor of the letter of the Pope, or of the Bishop; and they are not to trust false documents, such as these people often produce, unless these documents have been examined by the Bishop, and attested by his seal. The money collected is to be kept intact until the next Rural Chapter, when it is to be assigned to the archdeacon of the place to a trustworthy messenger for transmission to its proper destination.

Another form of religious imposture was the hawking about of sham relics of saints. I remember seeing in the Basilica of St. John Lateran a list of supposititious relics which had found their way into the treasury of that ancient church, and which were weeded out by command of the Pope. If these could be found in the Mother Church of Western Christendom much more readily would they obtain credence among a people of such a small amount of culture as the English possessed in the thirteenth century. The Synod therefore forbids the veneration of any relics unless they have the approbation of the Roman Pontiff; and no relics are to be sold; "nor are any stones, or wells, or trees, or pieces of wood, or clothes, or any other things to be accounted holy on the strength of dreams or other fictitious evidence. For apostolic authority declares that such superstition savours of heretical pravity."

Father Wallace, in his *Life of Edmund of Canterbury*, mentions St. Edmund's Well at Oxford, and says:—

This well was much resorted to by the people for the healing of wounds and maladies, but the practice was subsequently prohibited by Bishop Sutton (1280–1299) on the score of superstition. (p. 49.)

This would be just about the time of this Synod, so that it would appear that a strenuous effort was made by the Bishops at the end of the thirteenth century to root out the remains of superstition.

The chapter "On the Jews and their Slaves," requires a little introduction to enable us to understand it. There were few Jews in England in Anglo-Saxon times, but they became much more numerous under the Conqueror and his successors. The laws of Edward the Confessor laid down:—

It must be known that all Jews, wherever they may be in the kingdom, ought to be under the safeguard and defence of the liegdom of the king.

Neither can any one of them put himself under any rich man without the license of the king; because the Jews themselves and all their property are the king's own. And if anyone shall take, or keep possession of them, or their money, the king may recover them as his own property, if he will, and is able. (xxv.)

The Jew was enrolled from his birth as the king's property —“ *Proprium catallum nostrum*—our own chattel,” as one of the royal charters express it. He was exempted from all taxes, or dues, to local authorities, and this helped to make him more detested by the people in general. They had their own schools, and synagogues, and cemeteries. They were obliged to live in towns, and in a certain quarter called the Jewry. Their only occupation was that of lending money, for which they charged as much as from 43 to 65, and even 86 per cent. in the year. They had the monopoly; for the general teaching of the Church was that usury was forbidden to Christians, though, by a curious kind of casuistry, it was supposed to be allowable for them to encourage it in Jews. They had to pay heavily for this royal protection, by a capitation tax of 3d. for every male or female over twelve; and in any emergency the whole body could be taxed at will. To add to the general detestation in which they were held, towards the end of the reign of Henry III. it was discovered that, by the forfeiture of securities, they were gaining possession of a considerable quantity of land. Edward I., in his first Parliament, forbade them to lend money on interest any more, removed the restrictions on their engaging in ordinary work or trade, and enabled them to take leases of land. But few availed themselves of this permission. Just then a vast quantity of light coin was found in circulation, and the Jews were accused of clipping the coin, and no less than 293 Jews were hanged in London for this offence. In the very year in which this Synod was held, 1287, they incurred the king's displeasure, and the whole Jewish population were thrown into prison, and only released when they had paid a fine of £12,000. Three years later, they were all, without exception, expelled the kingdom, and the Parliament voted the king a fifteenth in gratitude for their expulsion. For 300 years no Jew set foot on English soil, and it was only in the reign of Charles II. that they obtained permission to settle again in this country. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind

When we read the intolerant enactments of our Synod. I will give the whole of chapter xlix. :—

That the kingdom of God has been taken away from the Jews, and given to a nation doing justice, is found written in the canonical books. By which it is clear that the servants of Christ have been given liberty, and that the Jews have been subjected to them in perpetual bondage. Since, therefore, it is written, "Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman," we reckon it too absurd that the sons of the free-woman should be servants to the sons of the bondwoman.

Wherefore, following the decrees of the Council of Lateran, we strictly forbid that Jews, under colour of bringing up their own children, should have Christian slaves in their houses, whether for service or for any other reason; lest, perhaps, by constant familiarity they may incline the minds of simple folk towards their own unbelief. For consorting with the evil often corrupts good morals. Christians who presume to go contrary to this prohibition are excommunicated, and Jews subject themselves to a heavy penalty.

We also forbid Jews from performing any public offices on the pretext of which they may be too offensive to Christians.

And, since it is not lawful to take food with them, we forbid Jews to come to the banquets of Christians, or Christians to go to theirs.

Also, if a Christian shall be sick, let him not take medicine from a Jew.

Also, on Good Friday, let them keep their doors and windows shut, because they are accustomed to make game of the sorrow of Christians on that day.

We also forbid them to build new synagogues; but if the old ones fall down, or threaten to become ruinous, we know that it is sufficient that they be permitted to rebuild them, but not so as to make them larger, or more costly than they were before.

In addition to these restrictions, we prescribe, that Jews of both sexes shall wear upon their outer clothes two woollen patches of a different colour, sewed on to their breast, two fingers broad, and at least four fingers long; that thus they may by the difference of dress be distinguished from Catholics, and all excessive mixing in a damnable manner between the one and the other may be avoided.

But, that the parochial churches be not defrauded of their rights through them, we command that the Jews pay tithes of the land which they cultivate, or else resign those possessions; and for the houses which they inhabit, they are strictly compelled to render the parochial dues owing to the parish Church.

It would certainly have been much more pleasant to have seen Bishop Quivil stand forth, as St. Bernard did, to defend the poor Jews from popular resentment; but historic truth will

not allow us to do so, and we must acknowledge that the Synod of Exeter was not more tolerant than the English Parliament and the King.

The Church, however, did not shrink from undertaking the defence of those of her own children who were victims of oppression. In those turbulent times, when the sword was the rough and ready arbiter of every quarrel, the privilege of sanctuary was one of the best safeguards of the weak against the strong. It was like the City of Refuge among the Israelites. As the Synod expresses it, "Holy Mother Church, as a kind mother, gathers all into her bosom : and thus, each and all, good or bad, who take refuge with her, are protected unhurt under her mantle." They quote the Legatine Council under Cardinal Othobonus, which decreed :

If anyone shall drag out from the Church, or cemetery, or cloister, the person that has taken refuge there, or prevent his being supplied with necessary food ; or shall hostilely or violently carry off property deposited in the aforesaid places, or cause or approve of such carrying off by their followers, or lend their assistance, openly or secretly, to such things being done by those presuming on their aid, counsel, or consent—we bind them *ipso facto* by the bond of excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved until they have made full compensation to the Church for the wrong suffered.

The Synod reiterates this excommunication, and adds to it a further excommunication against anyone who shall lay violent hands upon another in a sacred place, or palliate the offence by asserting it to be not sacred. The right of sanctuary was constantly used by both parties in the Wars of the Roses, and doubtless prevented a great deal of bloodshed. In the time of Edward I., its violation by Robert Bruce was the ground of his excommunication by all the Bishops of England. It must be admitted that sanctuary was often abused by lawless men, who thus evaded, for a while at least, the penalty of their crimes ; but it gave time for fiery passions to cool down, and justice to be done with more deliberation than was common in those days.

The last chapter contains a formidable list of excommunications which are ordered to be published in every parish church on the first Sunday in Advent, on Septuagesima Sunday, and on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,

that is, the first Sunday in August. Among those who incur excommunication are false witnesses in matrimonial cases, or cases of inheritance, also lawyers who unnecessarily prolong these cases. Those who attempt or do anything wrong against Magna Charta, as renewed by Henry III., and "confirmed many times by the sentence of the Apostolic See," are also excommunicated.

But, although these censures were to be thus frequently published, yet the excommunication of any individual was to be carried out with great prudence and caution, and only when no other remedy could remove the evil. In chapter xliii., rules are given to be observed in such cases by the archdeacons and others, to whom this power was committed. The offender was to be admonished three times in the presence of witnesses, and then the sentence was to be given in writing to the excommunicated person, with a month's grace, if asked. After this interval the excommunication was to be carried out, and any who communicated with the offender were involved in the same sentence with him. Such communication extended to eating, drinking, embracing, saluting, speaking, or praying with him, or any other kind of intercourse. This greater excommunication is to be published in the Church when the largest number possible are present, with lighted candles, and tolling of bells, so that everyone may know the name and cause of such excommunication. No excommunication may be pronounced by any official personally concerned in the matter, but only where the public rights of the Church have been violated. In cases of obstinate contempt of the excommunication the secular arm is to be appealed to as a last resort, and this is to be done by letters from the Bishop, and absolution is not to be given except when the Bishop certifies in writing that the censure is removed.

In the Middle Ages all testamentary causes, like matrimonial causes, fell under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The fiftieth chapter, on Wills, gives some curious information as to the procedure in such cases. The Synod begins by declaring that no one may under pain of excommunication hinder any one "of any condition, cleric or laic, free or bondman, from freely leaving by Will the goods that he may possess at the time of his death." It goes on to ordain

that anyone who thus desires to make a disposition of his property must send for the rector, vicar, or chaplain, of the parish Church, and in his presence, and that of two or more credible witnesses, dispose of his personal property as he shall think best for the benefit of his own soul, always reserving the expenses of his funeral, and his just debts, which have to be paid before any distribution is made. The wife and children are to have equal portions, all the children being reckoned as one. If the testator has already made provision for one or more of his children, such child is not to take his share with the rest. Those things that are for the testator's own personal use, such as horses and armour, or for his wife's use, as furniture, women's dresses, jewels, rings, should be reserved for the husband or wife, as the case may be, without any division.

Let the testator constitute faithful and respectable men of our Diocese for his executors; and, if it can be done, let him draw up his Will in writing, and let it be closed up, and at once sealed with his own seal, if he has one, or else with that of some other person, and let those who are present add their own seals; otherwise, if it only has the testator's seal, it may be afterwards plausibly urged that another Will has been forged after the death of the testator, as we have sometimes heard of being done. When the Will has been made, either by word of mouth or in writing, and the body of the testator committed to the grave, let the executors repair to the ordinary of the place (that is to the archdeacon, or perhaps the rural dean), and in the case of a written Will, testify to the Will having been made, and to the signatures of the witnesses. In the case of a Will by word of mouth they shall bring clear evidence of all that the testator is asserted to have willed, and especially concerning everything he has left behind him, and the evidence must be such that the executors themselves are in no way to be admitted as witnesses.

When the Will has been proved, let the executors faithfully draw up an inventory in the presence of persons worthy of credit, specially summoned for this purpose, in which all the goods possessed by the deceased at the time of his death, all debts owing to him, and all which he owed to others, shall be faithfully and distinctly written out, and attested by the seals of the executors and those present. Until all this has been done, and we command that they be done within fifteen days of the funeral, the executors may not administer. When they administer they must take care at once to assign to the wife and children their portions. From the portion out of which they distribute the legacies they are to pay the debts owed by the testator, and they are to call in debts owing to him. Towards the payment of his debts the wife and children are bound to contribute *pro rata*. But executors are not to keep back their portions

for fear of outstanding debts. They may take security from them that they pay their proportion of what may be owing. . . . Executors are to administer with such diligence, as that after the lapse of a year, nothing shall remain to be executed ; otherwise they shall be removed from their office, after giving in their accounts, and more fit persons shall be appointed to complete their work.

Executors unnecessarily delaying to administer the estate of the testator are excommunicated, and so are those who fraudulently pretend debts which the deceased man never owed. Executors are, however, allowed moderate expenses, since they ought not to be losers by this duty ; but they must not, under pain of excommunication, presume to appropriate to themselves anything that has not been expressly left to them by the Will. If a person outside the Diocese is appointed executor, he cannot be allowed to administer, unless he finds some substantial man among our subjects to be responsible for him upon oath. All executors are warned, that "if there is reason to think the deceased was much in debt, they are not to pay legacies to anyone, without first taking security from him that he will restore whatever the *Lex Falcidia* requires in this case."

The *Lex Falcidia* puzzled me for a long time, until I consulted a barrister friend, who enlightened me, and referred me to the Institutes of Justinian, where it was fully explained. It was a law passed forty years before Christ, and extended by Antoninus Pius and Severus, then incorporated in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian, and from these into the old law of England. By it the heir-at-law took, as of right, one-fourth of the testator's property, and all legacies had to be reduced so as to secure this portion. The old law of England went further, and secured to the wife and children two-thirds of the whole property, whatever provisions the testator might make in his Will. Blackstone says that this is how the law stood in the time of Henry II. The shares of the wife and children were called "their reasonable parts." So it continued down to the time of Charles I. It was only in the time of William and Mary that the law allowed a man to bequeath the whole of his property. Blackstone quotes a Decree of Pope Innocent IV., "written about the year 1250 ; wherein he lays down for established canon law, that 'In Britain the third part of the goods

of the deceased who dies intestate are to be dispensed on the work of the Church, and the poor.'” In 1357, Edward III. modified the law by requiring the ordinary to appoint the next friend of the deceased to be administrator of the estate, and this was the origin of what we know as “Letters of Administration.”

Religious, that is monks and friars, are forbidden by the Synod to accept the office of executor, “to remove all ground for their wandering about and not being occupied solely with the service of God.” What has been said about the *Lex Falcidia* must be borne in mind, in the consideration of the following statutes. The Synod prescribes that all Wills shall add at the end of this general clause:—

All the rest of my goods, whether actually mine, or at present in the hands of my debtors, not expressly mentioned in this Will, I will to be distributed for the salvation of my soul in pious uses by the hands of my executors; and likewise that by their hands due satisfaction be made to my creditors.

The chapter concludes by laying down that if any layman die intestate, and without legal heirs, his property is to be taken in hand by the ordinary of the place, that is the arch-deacon, so that the whole of it is to be expended in pious uses for the soul of the deceased. Whether our present law of the whole going to the Crown, in such cases, is a change for the better or worse is a matter on which opinions will differ. The next chapter regulates the case of a rector dying in Lent or after Mid-Lent Sunday. He is presumed to have ploughed and sown his glebe; and it would seem that many of the parochial clergy were so improvident that, until the harvest, they had nothing to pay their debts with. Accordingly, the Synod ordains that the executors of the deceased rector shall take over the glebe, and the coming harvest, and all the standing crops, with all the burthens and dues, until the succeeding Lent, when the glebe shall be handed over to the new rector, who, in the meantime, is to be content with the hay, grazing meadow, and garden-stuff of the rectory. If the rector dies without making a Will, the Bishop is to supply the defect at his discretion, so that the creditors shall be paid. In any case, his vicars, or curates, are to receive their stipend in full, and as speedily as possible. If a vacancy occurs at the time when

the land ought to be sown, the rural deans must take it in hand, and have their expenses paid by the future rector.

The chapter (liii.) on tithes throws much light on the state of things in rural parishes. The Synod takes it for granted that tithes are a divine institution in the Christian dispensation, as they were in the days of Moses, and thus they lay their payment upon the consciences of the faithful as a divine command. When I was a boy, my father, who was an Anglican rector, before the Tithe Commutation Act, for two or three years collected the tithes in kind, and many were the tricks played upon him by the farmers. One farmer, whose wife had borne him ten children, sent the last baby up to the rectory, saying, that as the rector insisted upon having the tenth pig, he thought he ought to take the tenth child as well. Our Synod says :

Because the tithes ought to be of all things that are lawfully acquired, we ordain, that tithes must be paid, not only of corn, but of cider presses,* garden-herbs, bees, horses, animals, wool, linen, hemp, honey, pigeons, cheese, butter, fisheries, woodcutting, swineherding (*pannagium*), firewood, straw (*mericis*), hay, meadow-grass, pasturage sold to outsiders, if not on the cattle feeding there. Also on profits from letting out oxen on hire outside the parish, on ovens, game, corn-mills, granaries, without reduction of their cost. Also by fullers, from the profit of their bargains, by silversmiths, metal-workers, stonemasons, and all other traders and artificers.

One would have thought that the collection of these tithes must have led to endless disputes ; and we are rather surprised to find how few evasions are considered worthy of mention by the Synod. This is especially to be wondered at, since the Synod forbids tithe to be paid in money, "if by this the Church is injured."

One piece of sharp practice was for the farmer to say that a certain part of a meadow had been of long time assigned for the payment of the tithe ; and it may be presumed it was not the best hay that grew there. Another practice obtained in some places, that laymen absolutely refused to pay their tithes, unless

* *Pomis pressoriis*, Exeter MS. The MS. copy of this Synod preserved in the Cathedral Library is much more clear than either Spelman or Wilkins. The latter says his MS. reads "*prasariis*," and Spelman proposes "*rosariis*." Further on, Wilkins reads *meretis*, which makes no sense. The Exeter MS. reads *mericis*.

the rector prepared a feast for them, and gave their labourers gloves, or some other present for taking care of the tithings. These customs the Synod strongly condemns.

In some places very complicated questions arose out of the practice of driving sheep to pasturage in different parishes, as to which rector the tithe of the wool was to be paid. The Synod, for the avoiding of quarrels among the clergy, decides as follows:—

If from the time of shearing to the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 12) the sheep feed and sleep in one parish, then the tithe of the wool, cheese and butter shall be paid to the church of that parish for the said time, although they may be afterwards removed, and shorn elsewhere, for it is commonly said, that before the above-named feast as much wool grows as in the whole year. And that the rector be not defrauded of his tithe, we ordain that before the flocks are removed from the pastures he shall take sufficient security for the payment of his tithe at the time of shearing.

But if the sheep remain in one parish from the feast of St. Martin up to the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the tithe of the lambs shall be paid to that church, saving the tithe of the wool to other rector, from whose parish they have been removed.

But if from the time of shearing up to the feast of St. Martin they have been transferred to different pastures, each church shall receive a *pro rata* portion of tithe. But if in one parish they sleep and feed there for twenty days, or less, and not more, so short a time shall not be counted in the reckoning.

The tithe of cheese, and the milk of cows and goats, if they sleep and feed in one parish, shall be paid there; otherwise shall be divided among the rectors according to the time passed in each place.

In the case of foals and horses, calves and kids, reckoning shall be made according to the places where they have been generated, born, and brought up, and to the length of time they have passed in the parishes in question, and the tithe divided accordingly between the rectors.

“But if any one kills sheep, or they die from any accident after the feast of St. Martin, he shall make satisfaction to the church for the fleece. And if any sheep from a distance be shorn in anyone’s parish, the rector shall retain the tithe of the wool, until he is certified that the tithe has been paid elsewhere.

Other regulations were made to provide for cases where, from the fewness of the cattle, no clear tenth could be counted. Supposing the number of lambs, kids, or little pigs, were under seven, one farthing is fixed as the tithe, for each calf a half-penny, for a foal a penny. For each cow’s milk, if there is no

cheese, a penny is fixed as the tithe, for the milk of a sheep a farthing, for that of a goat a halfpenny.

It seems that some who had flour mills used to grind very small quantities at a time, say a handful of grains, and every day paid tithes of the meal. Thus the Church was injured because the rector was not allowed to have chests there to collect these minute tithes. The Synod therefore orders that the tithes of every mill are to be paid on the first of each month, or else that a chest be kept at the mill to receive the tithes, which the rector shall be free to take away when he likes. It appears that the tithes of milk were accustomed to be taken in cheese, but some farmers brought the milk to the Church, and if they did not find anything there to put it in used "in contempt of God and the Church to throw it out before the altar." Others will not allow the rectors to collect their tithes, but seize their horses and oxen and impound them, and give the tithes as food for their own or other people's cattle. Others fraudulently take back some of their tithes, and some knowingly deteriorate them.

The Synod complains that certain county magnates seek to defraud the rectors, not only in receiving their tithes, but even after they have got them by using threats sometimes to their own tenants, but generally to outsiders, openly and secretly, not to purchase anything from the rectors, so that these cannot find purchasers for the goods they receive in tithe, except at a ruinously low price, and so eventually these magnates buy up the rector's tithes for a trifle. They do the same with the dues of the Bishop and archdeacons. Patrons leave benefices vacant, and in the meantime seize the tithes. "All these molesters, accomplices, and furtherers, by the authority of God the Father Almighty, and blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, our patron, and with the approbation of this present Synod, we excommunicate them, until they shall render competent satisfaction for the wrongs committed."

The next chapter lays down that every adult, that is of fourteen years of age, four times in the year, viz., on Christmas Day, at Easter, on the Feast of the Patron Saint of the place, and on the Feast of the Dedication of the Church, or else on the Feast of All Saints, shall honour his own parish church with his obligations, and these offerings, in the cases of parishes

appropriated to religious, shall not go to the religious, but to the vicars who are canonically instituted. And because the Church of Exeter is the mother of all the Churches in the Diocese, all the faithful in the Diocese are admonished to send by their parish priest, in token of their due subjection, their offerings at Pentecost to the aforesaid Church. As an encouragement to this duty parish priests are exhorted to publish the indulgences granted to those who thus fulfil their obligations to their Bishop, on the three Sundays next before Pentecost.

The Synod considers it superfluous to make any decrees at present with regard to Religious Orders. If they only observe their own rule, and the statutes of the Legatine Council under Cardinal Othobonus, and the admonitions to individual members of them, made almost every year in the episcopal visitations, they will have sufficient guidance for their conduct. As to the Statutes of the present Synod, if any questions arise as to the meaning of them, the Bishop or his Official, that is, his Vicar General, is the interpreter.

Whether these Statutes approve themselves to our judgment or not, I think all will acknowledge that they were drawn up by men who thoroughly knew what they were about, and had an earnest practical zeal for the spiritual and moral well-being of the inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall.

ART. II.—BUDDHIST SECTS IN JAPAN.

AS it is the fashion nowadays to discuss Buddhism, to praise it, and even to try to spread it abroad ; and as, on the other hand, the Japanese have just entered upon the scene of military glory, and by their exploits therein have drawn upon themselves the attention of all nations ; it will, perhaps, not be uninteresting to cast a glance upon the state of Buddhism in this singular country.

The majority of Japanese are not Buddhists, as we are made to believe by those who wish to glorify that religion and to substitute it in the place of Christianity, but the cult of Sakyamûni certainly numbers many followers in that country. At the same time its disciples are divided into numerous sects, some of which possess nothing of Buddhism but the name.

It is, above all, an examination of these different sects which we wish to place before our readers. This task would have been a very difficult if not an impossible one, had not a young Japanese *savant* taken it upon himself to lighten it by publishing an interesting work upon the subject. We shall draw from it a good portion of what we have to say about these different schools.

But, in the first place, we must call to mind the general principles of the doctrine of the *Lion of the Çâkyas*.* Our author, M. Ryaon Fujishima, pretends, however, that there is but one orthodox Buddhism, containing the true doctrine of the founder, which is that of Japan ; besides which, Europeans have never had a true idea of Buddhism. That is to say, they are only acquainted with its exterior form, and know nothing of its intimate character, its interior form, which never varies, while its exterior changes according to times and places and their special needs. Thus they have taken the accidental for the essential, the changeable for the immutable, and consequently have drawn an absolutely inaccurate picture of the doctrine.

Buddhism, to quote our author,† has an esoteric doctrine and

* *Çâkyasinha*, one of Buddha's names.

† M. R. Fujishima is very well informed upon this matter. After having

an exoteric one, also called the *Holy Way* and the *Pure Ground*; the former reserved for high intelligences and for indomitable characters, and the practice of which is very difficult, whilst the other is accessible to weak and common minds, and only requires very ordinary efforts—almost none at all, as will be seen.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BUDDHIST SECTS.

Buddhism is at one and the same time metaphysical, logical, mystical, and religious; but under all these forms it has but one object, one principle, one cause of existence, which is to drag its disciples from the whirlpool of re-births and to assure to them happiness, the entrance to Nirvâna, after their present and last existence. Metempsychosis with its painful trials, re-births into an existence devoted to the punishment of former sins—such is the necessary basis, the *raison d'être* of Buddhism, failing which it would be without any aim or object.

Buddhism, then, is nothing more than an offshoot of Brahmanism, since this also seeks to accomplish the same object; but it is distinguished from the latter especially in that it suppresses all the theogony and the entire Olympus of the Brahmans, their whole religion in fact—prayers, sacrifice, and the rest—to substitute in its place naturalism and the laws of fate.

Nirvâna, with its eternal repose—such, in short, is the object, the entire end which the faithful must strive to gain; but to do this he must become *buddha*—that is to say, enlightened, illuminated, possessing by inspiration the light which completely discloses the nature of things and the road which man must follow to arrive at his term of being.

But what is the road which leads to this happy end, which the faithful must traverse in order to obtain the glory of Buddha and to arrive at *Nirvâna*?

In order to understand it, we must give an accurate description of Being itself and of the laws by which its actions are ruled.

concluded his studies at the "Buddhist Faculty" of Tokio, he came to finish his scientific researches at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, where he remained for several years.

The existence of beings, their development, the trials which they undergo, are all governed by a necessary and fatal law, which depends neither upon the will of Buddha, nor upon that of any God; this law produces its effects as a necessary cause; every phenomenon, every action has a necessary and adequate cause, though at times we may not discern it and may attribute its result to chance alone.

Everything is produced by the efficacy of this law, without any divine power being able to change it. Buddha and all celestial beings are obliged to obey it, like the most ordinary of mortals. Buddhist metaphysics suppress God altogether; thus our author compares the Buddhist law to those of the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy as held by us. Buddhism then, as affirmed by one of its most profound adepts, is both atheistical and material.

It is true that the will of intelligent beings may interrupt this fatality, but even this will itself and the acts produced by it are the cause of physical and necessary effects; so that a fault committed irremediably draws down its consequences and its punishment in another life.

This law, then, operates upon three degrees of time; the past has produced the present, which again begets the future. In this manner a human being passes successively, because of this law of causation, into one or other of six possible conditions: an infernal being, a phantom, an animal, a demon, a man, and a celestial being. Even celestial beings may fall into quite an inferior condition.

I spoke a little while ago of the mind, or of the will, as being distinct from the body, from matter. But in the eyes of the Buddhist these are not different essences, but are simply two different modes of existence of the absolute essence of beings, which know neither birth nor death; their vicissitudes are but apparent changes, which cause neither production nor dissolution, and can only be looked upon as "the play of cause and effect" (*sic*).

I confess to not being able to understand very clearly the meaning of all this, and the author himself would, I think, feel rather embarrassed were he asked to explain himself. But Orientals do not, as a rule, go so far, and words very much wanting in meaning can satisfy their intellectual requirements.

Such then is the law which conducts man to his supreme end, to happiness undivided, to *Nirvāna*. But what is this *Nirvāna*, of which so much is said, without in any way satisfying the curious or establishing a uniformity of doctrine?

The Buddhists themselves know nothing about it, and their Buddha, enlightened as he was, did not give them any instruction upon this point about which he knew so much. The meaning of the word *nirvāna* is "extinction," and the choice of this word seems to prove that the founder of the religion meant by it the extinction of all individual existence. But he was careful not to say so in formal terms; it was quite sufficient for his disciples to know that in *Nirvāna* they would be delivered from all kinds of suffering. At the same time the different Buddhist schools have explained this word and the state to which it refers in the manner best suited to each one of them. To some of them it means annihilation, or immersion into the ocean of being; to others it is plenitude, reality opposed to the illusion or emptiness of the present life; or, again, complete calm in the bosom of an existence of eternal happiness. But even this tells us nothing, for this calm and this happiness may be purely negative, and the word *nirvāna*, which itself is negative, can only have been chosen because it denoted nothing positive.

The way to attain to this singular happiness is by observing the precepts of morality; by not killing living beings, not stealing, nor committing adultery, not lying, and not drinking to excess.

M. Fujishima believes that this system of morality is quite equal to that of Christianity; he even finds it superior, because it recognises the *rights of animals*, and imposes duties with regard to them. We will not lose time in discussing his opinion. The learned writer depends upon Darwinism for the justification of his thesis concerning our moral obligations towards animals. We certainly owe something to those who are descended from the same ancestor as ourselves, and, he concludes, it is not lawful to say that animals were put into the world for our use. The Japanese, however, eat flesh meat, make use of horses in various ways, and kill those animals which are harmful to man; facts which are rather contradictory to this theory. That cruelty to animals is reprehensible

and begets cruelty to man needs no Buddhist laws to teach us. But that we have really moral duties towards these inferior beings is an idea which even Buddhists admit only sporadically.

Such are the common principles held by the twelve Buddhist sects of Japan. We will now see in what their peculiarities and differences consist. A little while ago we mentioned the *Holy Way* and the *Pure Ground*. Ten of these schools belong to the first category, and two only to the second, which is also called the *Hinâyana*, or "Inferior (lower or diminished) Vehicle," in opposition to the first-named, which is called by its disciples *Mahâyana*, or "Great Vehicle."

FIRST CATEGORY.—THE HOLY WAY, OR *MAHAYANA*.

FIRST SECT.—THE *KU-SHA*.

This is the system of primitive Buddhism, of which it forms the first degree. The object of its teaching is the destruction of the illusion which makes us believe in the reality of the human *Ego*, which illusion is the cause of the various trans-migrations and all the sufferings entailed by them. In reality the *Ego* is not a real existence, but only an aggregate of the five elements of being, united by an ephemeral combination. All time, with its three phases, past, present and future, with the essence of the different properties of beings, are the only real *supposita* constantly in existence. These essential properties (*skandhas*) are:—1st, Form; 2nd, Sensation; 3rd, Idea; 4th, Conception; 5th, Knowledge. These elements are not the properties of beings, but different essences which communicate themselves to each other and mingle together so as to form particular beings, or those appearances which we erroneously look upon as such. In reality there are five universal beings, which I will call the *pan-form*, the *pan-sensation*, the *pan-idea*, the *pan-concept*, and the *pan-knowledge*, which play their part in the formation of particular beings, having an appearance of reality, like that of soap-bubbles, but which also destroy them at pleasure, or rather whenever the laws of nature decree.

Therefore there is no human *Ego*, because, outside of these five elements, which do not really belong to the individual,

there is nothing which could possibly constitute the *Ego* ; our mind, our soul is nothing more than a manifestation of the universal idea and sensation which are not individualities. This doctrine approaches Brahmanism by its negation of individual existence, of the substantiality of particular beings, and by its teaching as regards illusion. It differs from it in that Brahmanism places its reality in Brahma, and therefore in elements both impersonal and multiple.

This school derives its name from part of the title of its religious code the *Abhidharma Koçāçāstra*, or Code of the Treasures of Metaphysics. It was introduced into Japan in A.D. 698, by two Japanese priests, Thi-tson and Thi-tatson, who received their *Koça* in China, and brought a translation of it home with them.

This is also the sect which has most fully developed the philosophical part of the doctrine. It distinguishes seventy-five elements or *skandhas*, seventy-two of which are composite and the others simple.

The first group comprises ten visible forms—viz., the five senses and their objects—and also an invisible one which interiorly responds to the external actions, whether good or bad ; then the mind, with its perception and knowledge, which is of six different kinds ; and then again, all kind of impressions, sentiments, virtues, and faults.

The three simple elements are the conscious and insensible cessation of existence and space. The first is the goal of all the efforts of those who desire deliverance. One can see that these divisions are arbitrary, and without any common sense, and that they attribute existence to purely abstract and imaginary concepts. According to this school there are three classes of Buddhists :—1st, The disciples who still meditate upon the cause and effect of everything ; if they are faithful they are delivered after three existences ; if not they must attain *sixty kalpas*, or age of enormous duration. 2nd, The few isolated Buddhas who meditate upon the mutual connection (chain) of causes, and who comprehend the non-eternity of the world. These attain deliverance more or less promptly according to the degree of their faults. Finally, the Bodhisattwas, who practise perfection—the six principal virtues : alms-deeds, morality, patience, energy, meditation, wisdom—and who

Also during their existence attain to the cessation of illusion, deliverance.

SECOND SECT, *SADYA SIDDHI CÂSTRA*, OR OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF TRUTH.

The author of this sect was a Hindu of the name of Hariharman, who lived six centuries after Buddha, and who, dissatisfied with the narrow teaching of his school, wished to make it broader and more rational. He took a little from all the various schools of the Hinâyana, and composed a system all his own from the different fragments of the others.

The foundation of his doctrine was the *two voids* and the *two meditations* necessary to understand them.

The first void is the *Ego*; and this may be understood by the first meditation, which runs thus: "As in an empty bottle there is nothing, so also in the elements there is no substance which may be termed 'I' or personality."

The second void is that of the elements which compose particular beings, or *skandhas*, and upon which one must make the following meditation: "As the substance of the bottle does not in itself exist, so also the *skandhas*, or elements, only exist in name." To be able to understand these two voids we must remove from our minds all obstacles caused by our passions and which proceed from the senses and from our thoughts.

As a consequence of this nihilism, this school teaches the non-reality of the three parts of time; the present alone exists, for it, as a reality. But each being is and is not at the same time, as the result of perpetual change which everything undergoes and which does not permit any definite state to exist an instant. Everything is in a perpetual state of "becoming," as Hegel puts it.

This school, however, admits as a reality the infinitely small, and resolves itself into a vague and floating idealism.

This doctrine does not, any more than the preceding one, give an explanation of the origin of those elements which constitute a being. It lays down its theories without giving any reason for them. Everything, according to its teaching, resolves itself into an act of the mind upon which depends

the universe. It is subjectivism in all its crudity. As M. Fujishima says: "Phenomena are but reflections in the mirror of the mind, and their changes but the movements of the waves upon an ideal sea."

THIRD SECT.—THE *VINAYA*.

This school takes its name from the books of the *Vinaya*, or moral precepts which compose its code. It was founded in India by Dharmagupta two centuries after the death of Buddha, was introduced into China in the fifth century of our era, and into Japan in the eighth. It was two Japanese priests who went to seek for the *Vinaya* in China, and who brought it back with them in 723, after having passed twelve years on the sea without being able to land. The Japanese Emperor, Sho Mou, caused a bronze statue to be made representing the Buddha Vairocana, the type of moral perfection. A vast terrace was constructed, covered by an immense building, in which the Emperors and Empresses were obliged to practise the principles of the *Vinaya*. This school admitted the nothingness of the *Ego* and of the elements, but did not trouble itself at all with metaphysics. Its whole action was concentrated upon morality (*śīla*), which it divided into three categories:—1st, the *śīla* of good conduct; 2nd, that of good works; 3rd, that of benevolence towards all living beings. This formed three different teachings, and, as it were, three initiations which were attained successively and according as one advanced in the way of perfection.

The whole doctrine of the *Vinaya* school is contained in this formula: "It is by observing the rules of morality (*śīla*) that we became buddhas." The moral precepts vary, however, in number and in severity according to those with whom they deal, whether monks or laity.

FOURTH SECT, *DHARMA LAKSHANA*, OR OF THE CHARACTER OF THE ELEMENTS AND OF BEINGS.

This sect claims to have received its doctrine from the Maitreya Buddha, who descended into the centre of India from heaven on purpose to teach it. It was brought into Japan in 653.

The special theory of this doctrine is that the three worlds of form, desire, and non-form exist only in the imagination, and that nothing really exists outside of the imagination. The *Ego* and the elements are purely an illusion, the mind alone is real.

Man passes through three periods. During the first, ignorance causes him to believe in the reality of the *Ego*, and by so doing he precipitates himself into the torrent of trans-migrations. Him Buddha teaches that the elements alone exist. In the second period man recognises the non-reality of the *Ego*, but still believes in the existence of properties. To him Buddha teaches the non-existence of the properties of beings. In the third period man discovers the middle way, which is neither existence nor annihilation—that is to say, that nature, both absolute and negative, is real, but that its imaginary properties are false. Or rather, man learns to distinguish the one from the other.

Those who succeed in discovering the middle way are Buddhas, illuminati. The others are Bodhisattwas, or men with natures similar to Buddha.

This school again proposes to itself the following question : When a man practises the only true knowledge how long must he wait, what passions must he destroy, before he becomes Buddha ? ”

This is the answer : “ When a man has succeeded in lighting up his mind to the *bodhi*, or profound and certain knowledge, owing to the powerful effect of causes, and to the advice of his friends, he must still pass through three periods of immeasurable length, during which time he must constantly practise meditation. After which he must pass through those degrees which destroy the obstacle caused by the passions and the veil which hides the truth, and when this is accomplished he attains to wisdom and perfect enlightenment—he becomes Buddha.”

FIFTH SECT, THE *TRI CÂSTRA*, OR OF THE “THREE BOOKS OF DOCTRINE.”

This takes its name from three books whose titles concern us but little. It claims to be founded upon all the teachings of Buddha, while each of the others is founded upon one particular book.

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Its essential principle is the negation of all phenomena, whether interior or exterior ; complete nothingness (the synthetic Nothing).

Absolute truth is neither existence nor void, but is quite independent of either of these two ideas, and is perfectly intangible. Everything comprehensible is contingent, and contingency is but an appearance, a passing phenomena, which cannot be grasped.

The faithful, therefore, must reject the chimeric idea of existence and of non-existence, and be careful not to oppose one to the other. To dispel this idea we must have recourse to eight negations, or to a quadruple negation of relative and opposite ideas, which means that we must deny birth and dissolution, the movements of coming and going, the conception of identity and of difference—in a word, that of existence and non-existence.

If a man is convinced of these eight negations he escapes the suffering of transmigration into a world of good and evil ; he attains deliverance.

Finally, the doctrine of this sect is expressed by this aphorism : " Truth is only the state of mind of those who arrive at that point at which the idea of existence and non-existence absolutely disappears, and at which we understand that pure being is not distinct from void, nor void from being." The man whose meditations have raised him to this height of excellence becomes Buddha.

SIXTH SECT, THE *AVATANSAKA SUTRA*.

This is the title of its sacred work. There are six different texts of this book, but two of them are kept in the *dragon's palace*, and have never been revealed to man.

The essential principle of this sect is comprised in the study of the absolute state of things, deprived of any special condition, or of the absolute essence of the being. This essence is the same in all. Thus fire and water are the products of this substance, and only differ from each other phenomenally. If we look upon them from the point of view of this universal essence they are perfectly identical. We may say, therefore, that fire is water and water is fire.

This school has, however, five different kinds of progressive teaching, which it delivers according to the capacity and to the degree of advancement of its adherents. Universal unreality is only taught to the second category of listeners. To the fourth it is taught that a man who is free from all false ideas immediately becomes Buddha without any transition whatever. This state manifests itself like a picture shown in a looking-glass. To the fifth category alone is taught the entire doctrine, by showing how unity and plurality are united without any contradiction or difficulty. It is this doctrine alone which displays all the virtues of Buddha. It teaches that when a man is able to practise perfectly one of the exercises necessary to become Buddha he can do them all, and that the duration of one thought is identical with that of the cycle of innumerable centuries.

SEVENTH SECT, THE MOUNTAIN SECT, OR TIEN-TAI.

All the preceding sects came from India, but this one first took its rise in China, near to the mountain of Tien-tai, at the end of the sixth century, and was carried into Japan towards the year 803.

It, also, possesses four distinct doctrines, the first three of which are but *provisional means*, the last one alone giving the *plenitude of light*.

The doctrine of this *plenitude* is founded upon the knowledge of the three truths which make known the true nature of the elements of beings, of which elements there are three thousand—viz., there are ten worlds: 1st, the infernal; 2nd, the world of phantoms; 3rd, of animals; 4th, of demons (*asura*); 5th, of human beings; 6th, of celestial beings (*déva*); 7th, of the *Arhats* or disciples; 8th, of the isolated Buddhas; 9th, of the Bodhisattwas, or Buddhas in a state of preparation; 10th, of perfect Buddhas. Each of these worlds possesses the ten qualities of form, nature, substance, strength, action, cause, agent, effect, movement, and final equilibrium, resulting from the nine former ones. All these qualities are inert and unvariable.

The ten worlds have ten varieties, not explained, which brings their number to a hundred, and each one of these

having their ten special attributes makes a thousand attributes or elements. Moreover, these thousand elements are distinguished from each other, according to the three kingdoms of nature, which brings their number to three thousand, as we already said.

The three kingdoms with which it deals are :—1st, That of the five aggregates—form, sensation, idea, conception and intelligence. 2nd, That of living beings, or beings composed of the elements above-mentioned. 3rd, That of the earth, or the place which contains all these beings.

These three kingdoms multiplying the 1000 elements makes the required number, 3000. But these 3000 elements all exist together in each idea, the slightest thought comprehends them all.

These three thousand elements or properties are at the same time vacuum, for they are but contingent and endowed with a relative existence, in consequence of their phenomenal manifestation during time ; and also neither existence nor vacuum, but a mean term which expresses both their absence of substance and their phenomenal existence.

These three worlds are not exclusive, but constitute that which is called the inconceivable state of the three states which are inseparably united.

Ignorant people do not understand this, they eternally revolve in the ocean of transmigrations. (We, alas, are among the number of these ignorant ones, for we frankly confess our inability to understand a doctrine which is termed *inconceivable* by its masters themselves. Happily there are degrees of initiation which allow our obtuse minds to arrive by degrees at the final term which is the absolute state, wherein there is neither existence nor vacuum—*Amen* ! But the wise ones have no need of these degrees or transitions, they can raise themselves all at once to these salutary heights.)

EIGHTH SECT, THE *MANTRAS*, OR FORMULÆ.

This school possesses the novel peculiarity that it establishes the distinction between *exoteric* doctrine (*i.e.*, exterior doctrine which can be communicated to all the world) and *esoteric* (interior doctrine, or reserved to the initiated or adepts worthy to receive it). Moreover, it has this of good, that it claims to

to elevate even the ignorant and vulgar to the state of Buddha, without making them pass through the various conditions imposed by the others. The Buddhas alone, however, understand its mysteries, and this fact it is which has given to this doctrine the name of *mysticism*.

The means by which to attain to the state of Buddha are by following the three great esoteric laws which regulate the essential triad composed of the *body*, the *speech*, and the *mind*.

Our material bodies, born of our progenitors, is composed of six elements—earth, water, fire, wind, ether, and mind. These elements are everywhere present, and constitute all those appearances which are called *beings*; the five first only exist in the mind. The mind is explained in two ways: *across* by the consideration of different objects; *lengthwise* by the consideration of the progress of the mind.

Thought has ten different degrees arranged in the following order:

1st. *Thought in a vulgar man** in a different birth, in the state of an infernal being, of a ghost, or of an animal. In this state man is a slave to his passions, without intelligence. It is the first step towards rising to a pure and just mind. As soon as the mind makes any progress it passes into the following degree.

2nd. *Thought of a young man wanting intelligence, but self-restrained*—that is to say, of an ignorant man who diligently observes all the moral precepts so as to preserve his body and his speech from every stain. If he cultivates his mind in this manner he will rise to a still higher degree.

3rd. *Thought of a child without fear*, which is the state of an ignorant but pure man, who by practising the precepts is delivered from the three first wicked states. From this comes the name “without fear,” or delivered from all dread. This is already great progress in the practice of mysteries.

4th. *Thought a simple aggregate without the Ego*. Here begin the disciples of the true doctrine. They despoil themselves of all “egoism.”

5th. *Thought which extirpates the germ and the cause of action*. This is the state of the isolated Buddhas, who are

* Literally “mud.”

constantly meditating how to eradicate from their minds and inclinations the very seed and essence of action—viz., passion and inclination itself. The principal means to be used for the accomplishment of this object is the consideration of the non-reality of objects, which exist only as pictures in a looking-glass, or as the moon reflected in water.

6th. *Thought of the great means of liberation for the benefit of others.* The contemplator in this state occupies himself by absorbing into his mind the fundamental truths of Buddhism, especially of those which concern the love of our neighbours and the good which may be done to them. The one fundamental truth is that nothing really exists outside of the mind. When a man arrives thus far he feels an infinite compassion for all living beings, and causes them to attain Nirvâna. How does he do this? We are not told, but it must be by the natural virtue of this compassion, in the same way that electricity projects certain small objects.

7th. *Thought of the negative*, which means that impure thoughts, even passion itself, were originally pure. There are eight confusing thoughts upon this same subject which we will not enter upon. When once they are dispelled the mind opens itself to receive the light, and the sky above the road to deliverance becomes clear and luminous.

8th. *Thought of the one single road without action.* Being the contemplation of a soul deprived of all action and of the necessity of attaining that state.

9th. *Absolute thought of nature without nature itself.* In this state the mind plunges into the absolute in being without existence. Absolute nature being identical with the relative does not regard nature itself.

10th. *Embellished thought of mysteries.* Up to now we have only seen the various ways of becoming Buddha. At this point we at last arrive at this blessed state. To attain it man must discover the source of his own thoughts, then will be revealed to him the mysterious means of becoming Buddha, even while still living. He succeeds in doing so when he acquires meditation, wisdom and compassion, when he discovers that there is in himself a pure mind which may be reclaimed from darkness, but without stain, and which may be despoiled of the veil which envelopes it.

Speech is the mystery of sound, which is produced when form produces a sound. It not only exists in man but also in the animals, in nature, in the wind, and other things.

These mysteries exist all round us and mutually interpenetrate one another in every being.

This is the meditation of Buddha himself; when we succeed in attaining it it is the mystical union, the *Yōga*. We are able to attain this by *perfect reasoning*, which enables us to know the essence of bodies and minds; by *persistent force*, which discovers things outside of this conviction; and by the *acquisition of evidence*, which enables us to penetrate to the origin of our own thoughts. These three means mutually complete and absorb each other.

NINTH SECT, THE CONTEMPLATIVE SCHOOL.

This school is the most eccentric of the *Pure Way*. It possesses this one peculiarity, that it does not rely upon any particular text or book. It is a special transmission, independent of all teaching, and founded upon no words. It only teaches one thing, which is to study the nature of the human mind in itself; and as soon as a man discovers that entirely he becomes Buddha. The other sects err in trying to explain the *inconceivable* by words; for it is impossible to do so. It is for this reason that they fall short and do not succeed in achieving their object. They are not able to divest themselves of the distinction between good and evil; a distinction which is false and purely relative, for true and absolute knowledge has no idea of good or evil.

Bodhidharma, who understood and taught this mystery, did not explain it by words; he understood how impossible it would be to do so, and how inefficacious such means were. No words can explain thought in itself, nor its origin. It can only be understood by those who see nothing and do nothing. This is the way of truth, the true practice, the death of illusion and of all that is not real.

How can a man attain to such a state? The following are the means to make use of:

When we cease to reflect upon good or evil, or any other object in particular, our mind, free from all accidents, from all illusionary phenomena and from all contingencies, returns to

its original basis. Water which is not disturbed or obstructed flows pure from its source. Original thought reproduced is the thought of non-existence without a single attachment to anything whatsoever. Still it must not remain inactive, that would be a greater mistake than the first. While in this primal state the mind is not inactive, like a piece of stone or wood; on the contrary, it disengages itself from all diversity, and then there comes the thought of Nothing, which is perfect illumination.

The history of this sect is a very curious one, if we may believe its disciples. Çakyamûni was at the assembly upon the Vulture Mountain; the divine King Mahâbrahman offered a golden flower to Buddha and asked him to preach the law. Buddha took the golden flower into his hand, rolled it between his fingers, but answered never a word. Not one of those assembled could make out what he meant to do. But Kâgyapa smiled, he had received communication into his mind by *thought*, and he transmitted it in the same manner to Ananda. Thus it passed through the minds of twenty-eight patriarchs. These twenty-eight Bodhidharmas carried it mentally into China in 520, but it was only in 729 that it gained the shores of Japan.

In China it formed two schools, which spread themselves equally over the neighbouring islands.

The northern school adopted the custom of composing verses, by which to retain their religious principles. Its followers recognise in the body the tree of intelligence and compare the mind to a mirror which must be constantly cleaned (polished.)

The southern school denies the existence of anything which bears any resemblance to a tree or a mirror—in fact, existence in general. Considering its doctrine as more profound, this school looks with contempt upon that of the north. In Japan it is divided into seven schools, which are still in existence at present, and holds as its common principle the recognition or search for thought in one's own mind, that thought which is born of itself in the depths of the mind, free from all exterior influence, as the plant is from the seed. The object of the founder of this wonderful system was to protest against the pretensions of the other sects, who all tried

to impose the doctrine contained in their books. Each sect possessed its own, and these formed the foundation of their teaching.

"The more books you have, the more imposed authority," said Bodhidharma. Thought, which is shed into the minds of all intelligent beings, itself supplies the truth if we will only allow it to manifest itself. It does so of itself, without any exterior influences, which violate and alter it by sensation and the passions.

TENTH SECT, THE *NITHI-REN*.

This is the first which took its rise in Japan. It bears the name of its founder. But this Japanese *Nithi-ren* is only a reincarnation of one of Buddha's first disciples, who came back into this world to the Great Isles bearing this name.

Our tenth sect bases its teaching upon the celebrated work, "The Lotus of the Good Law," as does that of *Ten-dai*, but places quite a different interpretation upon it. It is chiefly founded upon the distinction between the *provisional* and the *definite*, as relating to doctrine; between the *anterior* and the *terrestrial* or *actual*, as regards the state of Buddha.

Its provisional doctrine is that preached by Buddha before he taught the "Lotus," which contains the *definitive*. The *anterior* is the knowledge which he possessed during the millions of years which preceded his coming. The *terrestrial* or *actual* is that knowledge which he acquired while living in the world.

Buddha by his provisionary doctrine formed his simple disciples, the isolated Buddhas and Bodhisattwas, and their special rules which are sufficiently known.

It was the terrestrial and definitive teaching which made Buddhas of the Bodhisattwas. The chief point in this doctrine is esoteric, and is the proclaiming of the permanence of Buddha's three bodies: the moral body, the beatified body, and the transformed body.

There are also three laws which should regulate every action. They are called: the object of religion, the Lotus of the Good Law, and the stage upon which to instruct oneself in the precepts of morality. (This stage is the body which bears the actions; the object of the doctrine is the three bodies of

Buddha; the five elements form his moral body; the five aggregates—viz., form, sensation, idea, conception, and knowledge—compose his beatified body; and the six organs of living beings constitute his transformed body.)

“The Lotus of the Good Law” is the title of the book which must be treated with *namo*—“homage” or “adoration”—to show the respect which one bears for the canons of doctrine.

The study of these laws leads to the practice of their instructions, to incalculable meditations, and to practical perfection. Even ignorant men can, by practising it, arrive at the throne of perfect knowledge. “What a depth of ideas is contained in this doctrine,” says M. Fujishima, “and what priceless advantages!” It is certainly very unfortunate that we can make nothing of it!

SECOND CATEGORY.—SECTS OF THE PURE GROUND.

FIRST SECT, CALLED *PURE GROUND*.

Here we enter upon a new ground in which there is hardly anything Buddhistic beyond the name. Its object is still deliverance, and the doctrine of Buddha is still taught as the means by which to attain it; but in reality there are none of his precepts left.

According to the teaching of the preceding schools deliverance is a thing to be gained in this world by the practice of abstinence, meditation, &c. But this school teaches that this happy result is obtainable only after death, by being born again in the *Pure Ground*, and that to attain this end we must simply continue to invoke the name of Buddha to the end of our lives.

It is difficult to grasp the cause and effect of the doctrine of the *Holy Way*. On the contrary, that of the *Pure Earth* is quite simple and accessible; it is sailing in a boat as opposed to a tramp on foot. In the beginning the first was necessary, but after a certain time the second was quite sufficient.

But what is this *Pure Earth* where one attains to final happiness? It is the western world where Amitâbha Buddha lives; that is to say, Buddha resplendent, of infinite brightness. It is perfectly pure, freed from all falsehood, and hence

its name. But those only who desire to go there can be born again. This world here below is the effect of the actions of all beings; we are obliged to come into it, even though we should not wish to do so; but after having been here, we can be transmigrated into the other, that is after death. For this reason it is necessary to detach oneself from this world as soon as possible by thinking of nothing but the Master of that happy ultra-terrestrial abode, of that paradise of delights which is called *Sukhāvati*, or "the happy earth." It is by professing entire belief in the words of Buddha, without making exception of any point, however insignificant it may be, and by invoking his name, that one attains "Happiness." The slightest doubt excludes us from it without remission. "In the great ocean of Buddha's law the only means of gaining an entrance is faith," says a patriarch of the school.

It is rather strange that this faith does not by any means oblige us to put in practice the precepts of Buddha, and that while firmly believing everything that he taught, it is not necessary to put any of it into practice, and one may act as if he had said nothing at all.

We will moreover remark that this Amitâbha Buddha is not by any means the founder of Buddhism, but a person who was created long after him in imitation of the Hindu Brahma. His paradise appears to be nothing but a clumsy imitation of the Christian one.

We have already mentioned that to enter the Pure Ground we must have repeated the name of Amitâbha Buddha till the end of our days, but all the books of this sect do not even exact as much as this. Thus in the canonical book of Amita (*Amitâyus-sutra*) it is said that if a man retains this sacred name in his memory for one day, or for seven days, Buddha will come to seek him at the moment of his death to lead him into the "World of Happiness." It would be impossible to be more indulgent than this. Thus the entire practice of this school consists in repeating *Namô Amitâbhâya Buddhâya*, "homage to Amitâbha Buddha."

TWELFTH AND LAST SCHOOL.—THE TRUE SECT OF THE PURE EARTH.

This title indicates that we have here a variety of the preceding sect. And indeed its object is equally to gain the

paradise of Amitâbha. But it offers several ways by which one can attain this, and all the schools do not possess the best way. Some prescribe good works and the mortifying of the passions, others admit only the necessity of the repetition of the single name Amitâbha with the term "homage" or "adoration" attached to it—*namô*. All this is provisional. That which is truly definitive or certain is *to repose entirely upon the absolute power of the original wish*; this is the only means by which we can be re-born immediately into the Pure Earth—the world of delights. What is this *original wish* which has such a marvellous effect? It is the forty-eighth of those which were professed by Amitâbha himself. It runs thus: "I would not attain to perfect knowledge if any one of living beings who believes in me with his inmost thought and with the desire to be born again into my paradise, and who repeats my name ten times in his thoughts, were not born into my Paradise Sukhâvati."

Thus Amitâbha expressed his desire to save all living beings who believe in him, and this compassion induced him to practise good works by which he accumulated merit to save living beings. The other subsequent Buddhas imitated his generosity and thus procured for mortals the means of their salvation by applying their merits.

Therefore to attain to perfect happiness one must place entire confidence in this wish of Amitâbha by purifying one's mind from all other thoughts, and by enlivening one's faith in the power of this wish, and by desiring the Pure World. Truth in thought, faith, and desire; these are the three conditions necessary, which all amount to one alone—viz., *faith*.

We are incapable of purifying our hearts and our minds; still it is necessary that we should do so. We shall succeed in so doing by great faith in the merits of the fundamental Buddha, and by invoking him in our minds. Some constantly repeat his name; others only do so rarely. But this is quite immaterial if one but possesses this faith which is a continual invocation. This school does not prescribe any particular duties to the priest or bonzes. It does not oblige the faithful to renounce all earthly desires. But these people must perform their ordinary duties, and must know nothing of theft, injustice, and other great sins. It employs no prayers nor magic charms.

It is impossible not to recognise in this sketch ideas which are essentially Christian, though entirely falsified—our helplessness to gain salvation without the help of a Superior Being, and the application of the merits of this celestial Being to ourselves. We find in it the saving faith of the Lutherans, though without the detestable principles: *crede fortiter et pecca fortius*. Asia has never imagined such a maxim as that.

Such are the principal Buddhist sects which exist in Japan, the most of which has been brought to it from India through China. There are still a number of others, as subdivisions of these; but the differences which distinguish them are of too little importance for us to mention them in this general outline.

Those among our readers who have read these pages with attention, and who after so doing think of the efforts made to convert Christians to Buddhism, cannot but recognise that this Buddhism, so much praised in Europe and America, possesses many false, ridiculous and odious sides, which are carefully hidden so as to present to view only the charitable side of the religion of Gôtama.

Unfortunate blindness! This charity we shall find, not ridiculously exaggerated, nor yet falling short at certain points, but perfect in every particular, in the Christian religion. Moreover in Buddhism it rests upon no serious principle whatever, upon no sanction which urges man to observe its precepts. No laws, no judge, no remunerator, but a law of which one can discover neither the cause, the nature, nor the effects. And it is to this doctrine that men would give the preference before the wise and explicit teaching of Christianity! And this is precisely what is aimed at.

What is wanted is a doctrine which we can excogitate ourselves, which can be presented with a certain amount of dignity, but which, in reality, imposes no obligation.

But let us not linger upon so sad a subject, which besides is outside the scope of our article. Our task is ended.

C. DE HARLEZ.

ART. III.—TWO MEDIÆVAL CHRISTMAS OFFICES.

STRANGE mingling of the beautiful and the grotesque, of deep and wondrous poetry and jingling doggrel rhymes, of noble histories and old legends—such, whether embodying the official rites of Rouen, or Paris, or Salisbury, or Auxerre, was that marvellous epitome of mediæval devotion called the Breviary.

But, how like those ancient prayer-books are to their fantastic capitals, their cunningly wrought and intricate borders! How faithfully do they reflect the age in which they were written, when quaintness and beauty, rudeness and delicacy, discord and harmony, went hand in hand.

The invention of printing, and the liturgical reforms of St. Pius V. and his successors, undertaken, as they were, at an epoch when the new learning and the renaissance of classic art had engendered a not unnatural revulsion from everything which savoured of the Middle Ages, were destined to change all this.

But though the new printed tomes had, doubtless, gained in clearness and precision, they had for ever lost the rich colour and gilded magnificence of the old manuscripts; while the church's local offices, though invested with a dignity and decorum which they had not, perhaps, known for centuries, were at the same time in a measure deprived of some of that sweetness and unction so characteristic of the literary compositions of the Ages of Faith; nor can it be denied that along with the dust and chaff much good wheat was cast to the winds.

The purpose, then, of our present essay is to gather up and lay before the reader a handful of this scattered grain.

Of all modern breviary offices few are richer or more beautiful than those which cluster round the great festival of the Nativity, yet after all, even these, beautiful as they undoubtedly are, form but a meagre substitute for the forgotten Christmas offices of more than one pre-Reformation service-book.

Two of such, we would examine in the following pages. The "Illustrious Use of Salisbury" furnishes one; the old Flemish rite of St. Donat's at Bruges is the source from which we have culled the other. The Sarum extracts are taken from Procter and Wordsworth's reprint of "The Great Breviary of 1531," the St. Donat's, from a small 8vo manual preserved in the Bruges municipal library—*Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie sancti Donatiani Brugen*. Neither the publisher's name, nor the date of publication, appears on the title-pages of this work, but 1520 is stamped in gold on the backs of the leather covers of each part; and although the present binding is not that in which the book first appeared, the general character of the printing, &c., would indicate 1520 as the approximate date.

Thus each of the offices under consideration stands as it did in the early years of the sixteenth century.

The Use of Sarum, and the Use of Bruges, like almost all the ancient local Uses of Western Christendom, derive their origin from Rome; and, as the modern Roman Breviary retains, for the most part, its ancient form, a certain family likeness between it, and the rites in question, may be expected. This, we shall see, exists in a very marked degree, in the case of the two offices before us. Indeed, so far as concerns structure, the differences are almost inappreciable. The following are the most noteworthy.

Both rites add a responsory after the little chapter at Vespers, and after the ninth lesson at Matins, the latter followed by the solemn chanting of the Dominical genealogy; both open Lauds with an initiatory *Ÿ* and *R* before the *Deus in adjutorium*, and both make a special commemoration of Our Lady at that office and at Vespers. Moreover, Bruges chants *Gloria Patri* at each of her nocturnal responsories, adds a sequence after the third, changes the position of the hymn at Lauds, and, in accordance with her usual custom, altogether omits the Matin hymn; while Salisbury inserts a double sequence at Lauds between the Collect and the *Benedicamus*.

In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini ad primas Vesperas.

Make ready, O Israel, to meet thy God, for, lo, salvation shall swiftly come to thee from the Lord; and He shall break off thy heavy yoke and loosen the bonds of thine iniquity: He shall strengthen the mountains

and give life to the winds, and proclaim His word to the children of men, and in the morning ye shall see His glory.

In words, such as these, the canons of the old collegiate church of St. Donat were wont to proclaim, on Christmas Eve, the approaching birthday of Jesus Christ.

The passage forms the Vesper chapter, and its aptness cannot be gainsaid, but the phrasing occurs nowhere consecutively in Holy Writ. It is rather one of those centos or Biblical mosaics, in which the mediæval liturgist so delighted, made up of a variety of scriptural sentences adroitly dovetailed together into one harmonious whole. The Sarum chapter is taken from *Isaias ix. 2*: *Populus qui ambulabat, &c.* A rubric directs that it should be said by the bishop standing in his accustomed place and vested in a silken cope.

In both rites the responsory is made up of the two short sentences inverted, which now serve for the R only of the second responsory at Matins, on the vigil of the feast.

The hymn in each case is different from ours. Bruges ordains *A solis ortus cardine*, Sarum the beautiful *Veni redemptor omnium* of St. Ambrose, a hymn which still, according to Dominican usage, forms part of the Church's Christmas liturgy. The following translation is by Neale; it very faithfully adheres to the sense and the rhythm of the original:—

* Come, Thou Redeemer of the earth,
Come, testify Thy Virgin-birth,
All lands admire—all times applaud;
Such is the birth that fits a God.

Begotten of no human will,
But of the Spirit, mystic still,
The word of God, in flesh array'd,
The promis'd fruit to man display'd.

Hymnus.

Veni redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum virginis,
Miretur omne seculum:
Talis docet partus Deum.

Non ex virili semine
Sed mystico spiramine
Verbum Dei factum Caro,
Fructusque ventris floruit.

The virgin womb that burthen gain'd,
 With virgin honour all unstain'd;
 The banners then of virtue glow,
 God in His temple dwells below.

Proceeding from His chamber free,
 The royal hall of chastity,
 Giant of twofold substance straight
 His destined way he runs elate.

From God the Father He proceeds,
 To God the Father back He speeds;
 Proceeds—as far as very hell;
 Speeds back—to light ineffable.

O equal to Thy Father, Thou!
 Gird on Thy fleshly mantle now:
 The weakness of our mortal state
 With deathless might invigorate.

Thy cradle here shall glitter bright,
 And darkness breathe a newer light;
 Where endless faith shall shine serene,
 And twilight never intervene.

All laud to God the Father be,
 All laud, Eternal Son, to Thee,
 All laud, as is for ever meet,
 To God the blessed Paraclete. Amen.

Alvus tumescit virginis,
 Clastra pudoris permanent,
 Vexilla virtutum micant,
 Versatur in templo Deus.

Procedens e thalamo suo,
 Pudoris aula regia,
 Geminae gygas substantiæ:
 Alacris ut currat viam.

Egressus ejus a Patre
 Regressus ejus ad Patrem,
 Excursus usque ad inferos,
 Recursus ad sedem Dei.

Æqualis æterno Patri
 Carnis trophæo accingere,
 Infirmi nostri corporis,
 Virtute firmans perpetim.

Præsepe jam fulget tuum,
 Lumenque nox spirat novum:
 Quod nulla nox interpollat:
 Fideque jugi luceat.

Deo Patri sit gloria,
 Ejusque Soli Filio
 Cum Spiritu paraclito,
 Et nunc et in perpetuum. Amen.

The *Y* and *R* following the hymn in both rites are identical—*Tanquam sponsus*, but whereas Sarum particularly ordains that they should be sung *Sine Alleluia*, Bruges no less emphatically enjoins the addition of the old Hebrew cry of triumph. Opinion, then, would seem to have been divided on this head in the sixteenth century.

The Psalms which Salisbury chants are the same she almost always chooses for the eves of her great festivals, viz.:

1. Laudate pueri.
2. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.
3. Lauda anima.
4. Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus.
5. Laudate Jerusalem.

For 3 and 4 Bruges substitutes *Laudate Nomen* (Ps. 134) and *Exaltabo Te* (Ps. 144). For the rest she follows Sarum.

As to the antiphons, we sing them still, but the order of their arrangement varies in each case, and in each case differently. To particularise further would be tedious. Suffice it to add that with Rome's third psalm antiphon, *Complēti sunt dies*, Bruges commemorates Our Lady, that she supplies the vacancy thus made in her psalm antiphons by a slightly different reading of the passage, *Cum ortus fuerit*, which we sing at the *Magnificat*, and that for her *Magnificat* antiphon she employs a scriptural cento which does not appear in the Roman Breviary. It presents, however, no very notable features.

We next come to Collects. The Church of St. Donat may be fairly said to have luxuriated in the wealth and variety of her Collects. Three, four, five, and even more enrich all her greater festivals, and no less than six, exclusive of the Commemoration prayers, fall to the share of Christmas Day.

The short formula with which she sums up her Vesper office on the Vigil of the feast; making, as it does, alike those without the pale, and those who are of the household of the faith, participate in the charity of her supplication, is especially appropriate:—*Præsta quesumus misericors Deus: ut ad suscipiendum Filii Tui singulare nativitatis mysterium: et mentes credentium preparentur et non credentium corda subdantur.*

The Collect at the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin is the *Deus qui de B.M.*, V. etc. of Roman use.

As for Sarum, she enjoins the Collect of the Vigil: *Deus qui nos redemptionis*. This was her invariable rule on the eves of all vigiled feasts.

While the rubrics of the Bruges use give hardly any indications as to ritual observance, those of Sarum, on this head, are rich in detail.

Thus we learn, that it was customary for the bishop, or the dean, to begin the first antiphon at Vespers, the ecclesiastic who ranked next in dignity the second, his immediate inferior the third, and so on, for the rest; that this rule was observed throughout the entire office for psalm antiphons; but for the reading of the lessons, and chanting of the responsorial intonations, the order was reversed, and the lower clergy took precedence of the higher; and furthermore, that the antiphon to the *Magnificat* was begun by the bishop, if he were in choir, or failing him by the highest ecclesiastical dignitary present, and sung throughout both before and after the canticle.

This doubling of the *Magnificat* antiphon was not peculiar to Christmas Day, it was customary, the closing vesper rubric informs us, on almost all great festivals, and when this was the case the altars in the chapels round the choir were incensed after the incensing of the high altar, and the manner in which this was done we gather from the same rubric.

During the singing of the hymn, two thurifers entered the chancel, each bearing in his hands a silken cope, which he presented to the officiating clergyman, who, retaining one for himself, handed the other to the priest who was to incense the high altar. When this had been done both priests proceeded to incense the other altars, each with his own thurible. The celebrant, leaving the choir by the northern gates, and preceded by one cerofer and a sacrist bearing his wand of office, incensed the altars of St. Martin, St. Catherine, the Holy Apostles and the Blessed Trinity, while his assistant similarly attended, passing through the southern gates, incensed the altars of St. Nicholas, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Stephen.

Ad Completorium.

Unlike Rome, whose Compline office hardly ever changes,

Bruges and Sarum present considerable variety in the details of their closing hour.

The former has a special antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis*—*Glorificamus te Dei genetrix quia ex te natus est, &c.*—and a special *Y* at the Preces—*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Deus Dominus et illuxit nobis*—a verse which Sarum more appropriately sings at Lauds.

There is also a special Collect which is worthy of attention: *Respice nos misericors Deus et mentibus clementer humanis nascente Christo summæ veritatis lumen ostende.*

A peculiar feature of this use is the abundance of its proper Compline hymns, many of which are very beautiful. That selected for Christmas night, by Venantius Fortunatus, is especially so. It forms no part, however, of either the Sarum or Roman breviaries. We offer the following translation:—

* Cast off is cruel Satan's yoke,
At length Redemption draweth nigh,
Let ev'ry cycle testify
That life's great recompense hath come.

For lo! Isaiah's mystic song
In Mary's story finds its fame
Her glory Gabriel's lips proclaim,
God's grace o'erflows within her heart.

A Word-born Infant all divine
Sleeps peacefully upon her breast,
Earth cannot hold Him, yet her arms
Cradle His tiny form at rest.

A fragrant blossom, wondrous fair,
Bursts forth from Jesse's time-gnarled root.

* Agnoscat omne seculum
Venisse vite premium,
Post hostis asperi jugum
Apparuit redemptio.

Esayas que cecinit
Completa sunt in virgine:
Annunciavit angelus
Sanctus replevit Spiritus.

Maria ventre concepit
Verbi fidelis semine;
Quem totus orbis non bajulat,
Portant puella viscera.

Radix Jesse jam floruit:
Et virga fructum edidit.

O sweetness of the Virgin fruit,
Which that pure blossom meetly bears!

He, the great author of all light,
Who with His Father made the skies,
Swathed by His Mother, lowly lies
In infant bonds within a stall.

Though His the decade of the law,
Though all things own His sovereign sway,
To wear man's form He'll not say nay,
With man He'll meekly bear the yoke.

That which the first man's will had marr'd
The second man doth re-create.
What pride cast down, humility
Doth set up in its former state.

Lo! now is born life-giving light,
And death gives place, and conquer'd night.
Draw nigh, ye nations, frankly own
That Mary's Son is God alone.

The Sarum office has proper antiphons for the psalms and the *Nunc dimittis*. Both of them are taken almost word for word from the Gospels. *Be ye ready*, runs the first, *like to men who wait for their Lord, when he shall return from the wedding*; and the second is no less appropriate: *Let all men watch and pray; for ye know not when the time may be; watch ye, therefore, for ye know not when the Lord of the house shall come, at*

Fecunda partum protulit
Et Virgo mater permanet.

Presepe poni pertulit
Qui lucis auctor extitit;
Cum Patre celos condidit,
Sub matre pannos induit.

Legem dedit qui seculo;
Cujus decem precepta sunt.
Dignando factus est homo:
Sub legis esse vinculo.

Adam vetus quod polluit,
Adam novus hoc abluit
Tumens quod ille dejecit,
Humilissimus hic erigit.

Jam nata lux est et salus,
Fugata nox et victa mors;
Venite, gentes, credite:
Deum Maria protulit.

even, or at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, lest coming on a sudden He find you sleeping.

One of the rubrics of this service incidentally makes us acquainted with an interesting piece of Sarum choir discipline, viz., that on the festivals of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Holy Innocents, the choice of the tunes to which the hymns were sung devolved on the persons whose duty it was, severally, to begin them, to wit, as the rubric quaintly puts it, the priests, the Levites, and the children.

In Die Nativitatis ad Matutinas.

Animated by that dramatic spirit, so dear to liturgists of the Middle Ages, the Church of Sarum in her first nocturnal responsory with solemn pomp proclaimed Christ's Virgin birth.

The impressive ceremony with which this declaration was made, is sketched for us in the rubrics which precede and follow it.

Here we are told, how two canons vested in surplices chanted the intonation from the choir steps, and how immediately afterwards, returning to their stalls, they then completed the response.

"On this day," they cried out, "the King of Heaven vouchsafed to be born for us of a pure Virgin; that He might call back lost man to His heavenly kingdom. Rejoice, ye angelic hosts, rejoice and be very glad, for eternal salvation hath dawned on the human race."

Meanwhile, five choir-children, with their heads veiled in white amices and with lighted tapers in their hands, had taken up their position on an elevated spot—*loco eminenti*—possibly the triforium, or perhaps a platform erected for the purpose—behind the high altar, and, when the canons had finished their anthem, turning themselves round to the people they at once took up the theme, and all together sang, *Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will, for e'en now hath eternal light dawned on Adam's fallen race.*

We have already seen that both Sarum and Bruges are enriched with nine nocturnal responsories. Among them, in each case seven of Rome's eight are included; but whereas Sarum leaves out the sixth—that sublime rhapsody in which Rome acknowledges her utter inability to duly praise the holy

and immaculate virginity of God's most pure Mother—Bruges passes over the fifth—*Beata Dei Genetrix*.

The omission, however, is in each case supplied by a single responsory, which presents the same train of thought, and is hardly less beautiful than the *Sancta Immaculata*.

*R. Thee do the angels praise, O Mother of Jesus, most holy, .
Who in thy virginal breast didst cherish thy God and Creator,
By the blest message conceived which Gabriel's angelic lips brought
thee

That above all other women thou mightest be called most blessed.

Ÿ. Him didst thou bear in a stable, and cradle low in a manger,
Even the longed-for Christ, the adored of myriads of Angels.†

It should be noted that although each of the three uses we are considering follows a different order in the arrangement of its responsories, Bruges, in this instance, more nearly resembles Sarum than Rome. The order of these two sets of responsories, in fact, is almost identical.

The remaining non-Roman responsory in each case follows the third lesson.

That enjoined by Bruges is very lengthy, containing no less than three versicles and a farced *Gloria Patri*, in addition to the responds, and is followed by a sequence. The whole composition though quaint is not without merit. It may be rendered in English thus :

R. From Heav'n He cometh, true God, of the Father born,
Enters his castle, and that man may know His face,
Puts on the robe of flesh which Adam once had worn,
And through the ever-closèd door, thus clad goes out,
E'en God and Man, the light and life of all the earth.

* R. Te laudant angeli, sancta Dei genetrix :
Quæ virum non cognovisti, et Dominum in tuo utero bajulasti :
Concepisti per aurem Dominum nostrum.
Ut benedicta dicaris inter omnes mulieres
Ÿ. Ipsum genuisti et in præsepe posuisti :
Quem adorat multitudo angelorum.
Ut benedicta, etc.
Gloria Patri, etc.
Ut benedicta, etc.

†(1) R. Descendit de celis Deus verus a Patre genitus,
Introivit per uterum Virginis nobis ut appareat visibilis.
Indutus formam prothoparentis Ade.
Et exivit per clausam portam Deus et homo lux et vita.

- V. O God almighty, Founder of the universe,
 Bow down thine ear to hearken to thy children's cry.
 Break off their fetters, set sin's struggling bondmen free,
 On this glad day which sheddeth light o'er all the earth.
 O wondrous depth of God the Father's tender love,
 Which now doth give to man, arrayed in man's own shape,
 E'en veiled in virgin flesh, His sole-begotten Son.
- V. See, like a bridegroom from His chamber, coming forth
 Through ever-closed doors the God-Man Jesus Christ,
 Most Glorious Sun which giveth life to all the earth.
- V. O Christ, preserve Thy flock, which, having taken flesh
 From gentle Mary's form, blood-bought, Thou didst redeem,
 Through death thus giving light and life to all the earth.
- V. To Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God Most High,
 Whose Sovereign will doth order Heav'n and earth and Hell,
 Be glory in the Highest, honour, laud, and might.
- V. See, like a bridegroom from his chamber coming forth
 Through ever-closed doors, the God-Man Jesus Christ,
 Most Glorious Sun which giveth life to all the earth.

SEQUENCE.

Moved with compassion for His creatures' wretched plight,
 Mercy's great Monarch, humbly taking servile garb,
 Girds on man's form, and cleanses Adam's guilt-stained soul.
 Great God, bewailing that Thy noble handiwork,
 Wrought in Thine image, grand and free, death-struck lies low,
 By Satan's wile's undone, a shattered, broken, wreck!
 Nor man nor angel gave Him life, Word-born is He,
 And thus from Heav'n He comes to earth, most highest God,

- V. Factor orbis Deus nos famulos exaudi clamantes ad Te ;
 Nos et nostra crimina laxa die ista lucifera,
 Fabrice mundi.
 O quanta Dei clementia Patris ;
 Cujus natus nobis datus erit aula virginea
 Nube carne sumpta.
- V. Tanquam sponsus Dominus procedens de thalamo suo
 Et exivit per clausam portam etc.
- V. Familiam salva Christe tuam quam natus alma de Maria
 redemisti
 Morte tua reparato Fabrico Mundi.
- V. Sit in excelsis altissimo Deo celestia terrestria suo qui (?)
 Gubernat imperio honor et virtus laus et gloria Patris et
 Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

SEQUENTIA.

- (2) Facture condolens forma servi sumpta Rex clemens
 Humilis carnem induit culpam laxans primi Parentis.
 Miserans plasma tuum Deitas hominem similem quem tibi
 Fecerat fraude hostis, incurrisse mortem discrimina.
 Quem non homo non angelus vite formaret.

To heal again the blighted stock, which He Himself
Once made all fair to see, in perfect beauty shrined,
Rejoice, to-day is born earth's needed Ransomer.

It may be interesting to note that a slightly different reading of the above response, followed by the second verse only, is still retained in the breviaries of the Dominican and Benedictine orders.

The corresponding passage in the Salisbury breviary, though similar in thought and expression, is not identical with the Bruges responsory. Equally quaint and equally beautiful, it is possibly peculiar to England:—

- * R. Lo! He came down from Heaven,
Sent forth by the will of His Father.
Through the ear of the Virgin He entered our land,
Arrayed in a vesture of purple,
And He went out through the golden gate,
The glory and light of all nations.
Ÿ. The Lord is like unto a bridegroom,
Coming forth from His chamber.
R. And He went out through the golden gate
The whole earth's brightness and splendour.
Ÿ. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.
R. The Light and the Life of all nations.

While in each case the passages selected for the lessons are drawn from the same authors as those which Rome employs, the Sarum passages are longer, the Bruges shorter than the corresponding lesson in the Roman Breviary.

The rubrics inserted between the lessons give several interesting details of Sarum ritual.

Thus we learn that all lectors and cantors at Vespers, at

Sed solus verbigena de cœlis in hunc ergo altissimus mundum,
Venit; ut quos formaverat redimeret;
Natus hodie redemptor necessarius. Fabrice Mundi.

- * R. Descendit de cœlis
Missus ab arce Patris,
Introivit per aurem Virginis in regionem nostram
Indutus stola purpurea.
Et exivit per auream portam
Lux et decus universæ de fabricæ mundi
Ÿ. Tanquam sponsus Dominus procedens de thalamo suo.
R. Et exivit, &c.
Ÿ. R. Gloria Patri, &c.
R. Lux et decus, &c.

Matins, and at Mass, after they had read or sung, knelt before the bishop to receive his blessing ; that on Christmas night it was customary during the reading of the second lesson at every nocturn, for some priest, chosen in turn from either side the chancel, to vest himself in a silken cope, and incense the altar, while at the same time an acolyte incensed the choir ; that the canons who read the seventh, eighth, and ninth lessons, wore silk copes, and that this was likewise customary on the feast of the Epiphany, the Purification, the Blessed Trinity, Corpus Christi, and the Assumption and Nativity of Our Lady, as well as on the feast of Holy Relics, and on all church dedication festivals ; that on All Saints' Day, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday, all the lessons were so read, and lastly, that while the ninth responsory was being chanted, the deacon, accompanied by the sub-deacon, the thurifer, the cerofer, and an acolyte bearing a cross—all solemnly vested—incensed the altar, and then, after having first received the blessing of the celebrant, proceeded down the centre of the chancel to the pulpit, where he chanted the genealogy of Our Lord according to St. Matthew. This custom does not seem to have been peculiar to Salisbury ; we have already seen that it was usual at Bruges, and to the present day the Dominican office still enjoins it.

Whether we have here a survival of a still more ancient usage, once in vogue on all great festivals, would perhaps be difficult to determine, but the fact that the office for the Epiphany, which more than any other has preserved its antique form, presents, according to Sarum and Dominican use, a like peculiarity, and Benedictine custom, which enjoins on all festivals of twelve lessons, the reading of the Gospel for the day after the *Te Deum*, would seem to indicate that this is so.

Ad Laudes.

"Immediately after Mass," runs the Sarum rubric which precedes Lauds, "let the celebrant stand before the altar and say this verse—*Ÿ The Word was made flesh, Alleluia. R And dwelt among us, Alleluia*—and then before he shall withdraw from the altar let him say—*Deus in adjutorium, &c.*, but if the *Excutor officii* shall not have celebrated, then he shall say the above from his own choir-stall." Thus, on

Christmas Day, the Church of Salisbury opened her morning service.

There are but two or three points in which this office differs from our own. In the first place another passage of Scripture (Titus ii. 11, 12) is chosen for the little chapter. Next a different V and R follow the hymn—*Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. The Lord is God and He hath shone upon us*—words full of meaning, and singularly appropriate on any day of the year, when we take into consideration the hour at which Lauds was sung—sunrise, the peculiar construction of English churches, with their vast east windows, and the almost reverential awe with which primitive and mediæval Christianity regarded the sun, which for them was a figure and type of Christ, doubly so, on the morning of Christmas, when they betoken, in a special manner, the first dawning of the Sun of Righteousness.

We have, moreover, after the collect (and this, perhaps, is the most important variety of all) an interpolation utterly unknown in the breviary of to-day—a species of sequence or prose, which the rubric calls a *Benedicamus*, probably because the rhyming verses of which it is composed were originally written on the *Neuma* of the days *Benedicamus*, much in the same way as Mass sequences were written on the *Alleluia* *Neuma*. It consists of two quaint strophes of eight verses each, the first of which was sung by two canons vested in surplices. We venture thus to render the words of their song:—

God's Word made flesh, on this glad day,
From the pure Shrine, wherein He lay,
Goes forth, man's debt of sin to pay;
To lead him back to Heaven's way
Whom Satan's guile had made to stray.
Angels singing, passing sweet,
Heav'nly canticles most meet,
Fitting thus God's advent greet.

Then two other canons, from the opposite side of the choir, likewise clad in white surplices, lifting up their voices made response:—

Lo! a messenger of light
Bathed in glory, shining bright,
Meets the shepherds' startled sight,
Tells of peace mid sin's dark night.

Christ, great Shepherd, peace bestow
 On thy children here below,
 Wakening them from sin and woe
 By angels sweetly singing,
 Thine advent meetly hymning,
 Their homage duly bringing.

Verbum Patris hodie
 Processit ex Virgine,
 Venit nos redimere,
 Et cœlesti patriæ
 Voluit nos reducere;
 Virtutes angelicæ
 Cum canore júbilo
 Grates reddant Domino.

Refulgens pastoribus
 Nunciavit angelus
 Pacem pacis nuncius;
 Tu pastor egregie
 Pacem nobis tribue:
 Filios et instrue
 Redemptori debitas
 Jubilando gratias.

The above verses were not said instead of, but in addition to, the ordinary *Benedicamus*. This, as usual, completes the service.

Lastly, there is a commemoration of Our Lady, which the rubric calls *Memoria de Sancta Maria ad Consummationem totius mysterii Incarnationis*. It consists of an antiphon—*Ecce completa sunt*, &c., the *Ÿ* an *R* *Post partum*, &c., and the collect *Deus qui salutis æternæ*, &c. They are all contained in the Roman Breviary.

The Bruges office of Lauds, though resembling very nearly the corresponding Sarum use, in the following respects is different.

In the first place, we have the unusual position of the chapter—*Populus qui sedit*, &c., a passage other, be it observed, than that chosen either by Rome or Sarum—which instead of preceding the hymn, is placed between it and the *Ÿ* and *R*.

Secondly, the farced *Benedicamus*, indulged in by Sarum is omitted; then a different *Ÿ* and *R* is said at the Memorial of Our Lady—*Ÿ* Unto us a Son is born. *R* Unto us a child is given, Alleluia—and lastly another hymn is chosen—*Corde*

natus ex Parentis, a cento from the ninth hymn of the *Cathermerion* (Prudentius). It appears in neither Roman nor Sarum choir-books, but a slightly different arrangement was sung by York and Hereford. The following is a translation of the Bruges version :—

Of His Father's heart begotten, ere the universe began,
Alpha and Omega call Him; very fount and term is He
Of all things which are, or have been, or shall be for evermore,
E'en throughout eternity.

When He spake they were created, at His word all things were made,
Ocean's vastness, earth, and Heaven, with the creatures they contain,
Sun, and moon, and stars, and planets, sailing in the depths of space,
Till all things shall pass away.

O that childbirth, truly blessed, when a virgin Mother, made
Fruitful by God's Holy Spirit, gave salvation to mankind,
When the light of Christ's dear visage, henceforth beaming evermore,
For the first time shone on man.

Let the firmament of Heaven thunder out its mighty psalm,
And ye sweet-toned angel choirs add to it your antiphon,
Let no creature's tongue keep silence, let all voices jubilate,
Hymning God eternally.

Let the old man's feeble quavering mingle with the children's choir,
Let the youth, and let the virgin, join their joyous canticle,
Let young maidens with their mothers raise their simple hearts in song,
Lauding Christ for evermore.

Ad Horas.

Broadly speaking the Sarum Little Hours are identical with our own, but although of the passages of Scripture which form their chapters and responsories there is hardly one which is not also to be found in the Roman Office, the order in which they are arranged is not always quite the same as with us.

We refrain from entering further into detail, as the discrepancies are so minute, and at the same time so numerous, that any account of them would be tedious to the reader, and, certainly, out of place in a magazine article.

The above remarks apply equally to the Bruges Hours, but here we have two important peculiarities which must not be passed over, namely, that proper hymns and proper collects are provided for each of them.

The hymns are taken from the Compline hymn already quoted, *Agnoscat omne Seculum*. The first two verses are appointed to be sung at Prime, the two following at Tierce, the next two at Sext, and the last two at None, the Doxology being added in each case.

The following are the collects: No. 1 was said at Prime, Tierce, and Compline; No. 2 at Sext, and No. 3 at None:—

(1) *Respice nos misericors Deus: et mentibus clementer nascente Christo summe divinitatis (or veritatis) lumen ostende. Per eundem &c.*

(2) *Largire quesumus Domine famulis tuis fide et sinceritatis augmentum: ut qui de nativitate Filii tui Domini nostri gloriantes: et adversa mundi Te gubernante non sentiant, et que temporali celebrare desiderant sine fine percipiant. Per eundem &c.*

(3) *Deus qui per Beate Marie Virginis perpetue sine humana concupiscentia procreatum in Filii tui membra venientes paternis fecisti prejudiciis non teneri presta quesumus: ut hujus creature novitate suscepta vetustatis antique contagiis eruamur. Per eundem &c.*

Ad Secundas Vesperas.

The Sarum office of Second Vespers very nearly resembles our own. The following are the only variations:—

A responsory—the *Verbum caro*, which follows Rome's 9th lesson—is inserted between the chapter and the hymn; *A solis ortus* takes the place of our *Jesu Redemptor*; and instead of the Roman *Ÿ* and *R* *Notum fecit &c.*, we have *Benedictus qui venit, &c.*

Bruges, with the following exceptions, is identical with Sarum:—

For the little chapter, we have *Verbum caro veritatis*; the *Ÿ* and *R* are *Tanquam sponsus Dominus*, there is a different antiphon to the *Magnificat*—

Lux orta est super nos; qui natus est hodie Salvator, Alleluia—have we here the origin of our *Hodie Christus natus est?*—and a different collect—*Omnipotens Sempiternus Deus, Creator humane reformatorque creature: quam Unigenitus Tuus in utero perpetue Virginis assumpsit: respice nos propicius: ut Filii Tui incarnatione suscepta, inter ipsius membra mereamur numerari. Per eundem.*

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

ART. IV.—A GASCON CITY AND ITS CHURCH.

IN a corner of Gascony far away from the track of the ordinary tourist, stands the city of Auch, the general aspect of which recalls to the mind of a traveller some of the ancient cities of central Italy. Like these Etruscan prototypes this mediæval town crowns the summit of a precipitous hill. The picturesque group of its towers, the houses with their flat red-tiled roofs—many of them with open loggie abloom with flowers—the classic monumental flight of steps laid out in terraces and adorned with fountains, ascending from the river's bank to the top of the cliff, the hanging gardens from the steep slope below the palace, and the surrounding circle of low conical hills enclosing the valley—all carry one's thoughts back to Umbria and Tuscany.

Occupying a splendid site on the edge of the high and steep bank above the muddy and sluggish Gers, whose aspect to-day corresponds with the satirical eulogy written on this stream thirteen hundred years ago by Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers in his poem "*de Egircio flumine*," is the low and massive cathedral, built of dark brown stone. It is a matter for regret that it lacks a lofty choir, which is wanted to add dignity to its structure. The ridge of roof does not appear above the walls, and its solid buttresses give the building an appearance of squat solidity, which is only broken by the slender watch-tower adjoining the sacristy—the one remnant left of the church's once extensive fortifications.

The Roman settlement made here soon after the invasion of Gaul (B.C. 56), was built on the flat ground in the valley on the right bank of the river, and received its name of *Augusta-Ausciorum* after the visit of the Emperor Augustus, who halted in it on his return from Spain.

Like some other cities of Gaul it enjoyed the *jus Latinum*, or government by its own laws, and at a later period became the capital of *Novempopulana* or *Aquitania Tertia*. This was probably due to its situation at the junction of four important Roman roads which ran through it—one from *Burdigala* to *Tolosa*, the other from *Lugdunum Convenarum* to *Lactora* and

Aginnum. On the summit of the hill rising steeply from the left bank of the river was an older Gaulish town, known as Beth-Clar, and called by its Roman neighbours Villa-Clara, while its inhabitants applied the term Vallis-Clara to the newer settlement opposite them. This name Beth-Clar lingered on, and appears as the name of a gateway in the eleventh century, and of a marketplace from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.*

The name of Elimberris by which this Gaulish *oppidum* is also known, was probably given in the first place to that quarter of Beth-Clar which was inhabited by a band of fugitives from Iberia, who settled here after the defeat of Sertorius by Pompey.† This name of foreign importation (corrupted into Climberris) clung to the older town, and long continued to distinguish it from the Roman city. Modern Auch covers its site on the crest and slopes of the hill; and where Augusta-Ausciorum once stood, a new suburb has sprung up. The site of the Roman city can be traced by fragments of mosaic pavements and other remains, which have been unearthed from time to time.

In the third century the capital of the Ausci was in a flourishing state, and trusting to the safety it afforded, S. Taurin took refuge within its walls. Elected bishop of Elusa, the metropolis of Novempopulana, about the year 293, S. Taurin shortly afterwards quitted his city, and accompanied by his flock withdrew to Auch. The reason why this exodus took place is not mentioned in history. Perhaps some local outbreak after the death of Aurelian, or the withdrawal of the Imperial garrison, coupled with some fear of invasion, was the cause. Whatever the reason may have been, Elusa appears to have been deserted at this date by most of its inhabitants. St. Taurin carried with him an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the relics of his predecessors in the See of Elusa. This translation and the temporary transfer of the bishopric had been foretold by S. Paternus, who prophesied the change to be effected by the fourth bishop after him, in the following words:

* Maps in Lafforgue, "Hist. d'Auch," 1851.

† Du Mège, Arch. Pyrén., 1858.

Ego unus . tres post me . nihil amplius ex quo mutabitur sedes.
 Et qui altare et pignora beate Marie hinc detulerit . me et illos non
 relinquat.

At Auch S. Taurin found Christianity held in honour. According to ancient tradition its seeds had been sown here by S. Saturnin of Toulouse. In the Roman city an oratory dedicated to S. Peter, and outside the older hill city, near the river's bank, a baptistery dedicated to the two SS. John, the Baptist and the Evangelist, bore witness to the faith of a portion at least of the inhabitants.

This baptistery was chosen by S. Taurin for the resting-place of the relics brought from Elusa; so the venerated remains of the early bishops of that city were laid at rest near the baptismal font.*

Ecclesia vero quæ recipit vivos recipiat et mortuos.

The altar brought from Elusa was set up in a new oratory, which S. Taurin erected on the summit of the hill. On its site the present cathedral now stands. He fixed his bishop-stool in the Church of SS. John, and here it remained until the beginning of the sixth century, when a new church across the river became the cathedral.

In 313, this holy bishop was slain by the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, whither his zeal had led him to preach against their pagan rites.† His successor, S. Luperculus, re-established himself at Elusa and there suffered martyrdom, but owing to the importance of Auch a suffragan bishop was appointed in the person of S. Citerius, who ranks as its first bishop. The primates of Novempopulana continued to reside in Elusa until the total destruction of that city by the Saracens in 732. Early in the fifth century another saint, who has left his mark in history, occupied the See of Auch. S. Orens, a native of Urgella in Catalonia, was born in an age when souls, attracted by the renown of the hermits of the Thebaid, were led to imitate their retirement from the world. Urged by a divine impulse he crossed the Pyrenees and chose a retreat amid the solitude of those mountain-passes. Near the entrance of the sombre gorge through which now runs the

* "Gallia Christ." I. c. 967 (edition 1715).

† "Acta SS.," v. Sept., t. 42, p. 631.

road from Pierrefitte to Luz, a footpath on the left leads up the lonely valley of Caprasie. The noise of the torrent rushing down from the lake of Isaby alone troubles the silence. After ascending the path one reaches the ruins of an ancient church, on a piece of level ground surrounded by trees and meadows. The times are long gone by when on the first day of May crowds of peasants collected here to celebrate the festival of the patron saint of the Pyrenees. The few remaining fragments show that the church was built in the form of a Latin cross. The walls are of great thickness, and the three round apses at the east end had roofs much lower than that of the nave. The date of its foundation is not known, but this church—the oldest in these valleys—was built on the site of the oratory of S. Orens. A charter of the year 820 mentions the donation to this sanctuary of divers ornaments.* At a later date this monastery belonged to the Order of Cluni. At this spot S. Orens fixed his abode, and with his loins girt about with an iron chain, recited the Psalter daily, standing in the icy waters of the lake. Here he kindled the light of the Gospel among the peasants of the neighbourhood, for the inhabitants of these remote valleys still practised the rites of paganism long after the conversion of the towns in the plain.† The breviary of Auch mentions the mill which he built to supply their temporal wants.

The renown of the hermit spread far and wide, and on the death of Ursinien, bishop of Auch, he was unanimously elected as his successor. The fame of the learning and earnest labours of S. Orens extended beyond the confines of his diocese, and his intercession was entreated even by the Arian Visigoth, King Theodoric, in 439, when he found his capital threatened by the two armies commanded by Aetius and Litorius. With the former general the intercession of the venerable bishop prevailed, and he withdrew his forces; but Litorius, hoping to eclipse his colleague, refused to listen to the advice of the saint, and gave battle to Theodoric, whose army, animated with religious enthusiasm, gained the victory, and the Roman

* "Histoire de la Bigorre," Lagrèze, 1863.

† Compare the statutes of the Bishop of Conserans, 1279-1304, wherein is a distinct proof of the existence of a cult of Diana and of a Celtic goddess in his diocese, as late as the close of the thirteenth century.

general was totally defeated. For nigh fourteen centuries the grateful citizens of Toulouse honoured, by a solemn procession every year on the first of May the memory of their protector, whose statue was also placed on one of the gates of their city.

The literary remains of S. Orens, which have survived, prove that the hermit-bishop was a man of considerable intellectual power and culture. He was an eye-witness of the devastation of the rich provinces of Southern Gaul by the hordes of Vandals and other barbarians, who overran the country before they passed into Spain (409). In his *Commonitorium* (Lib. ii. 165, &c.), he writes :

Look how Death is fallen suddenly upon us, and war destroyed the people. Those die of hunger whom the sword has spared. Others become the prey of dogs. Some perish in their houses given over to flames. Throughout the whole land, murder, carnage, fire, and woe hold sway. All Gaul smokes like one funeral pile.

This testimony is confirmed by S. Prosper of Aquitaine, likewise a witness of this invasion, who writes in his poem, "*De Providentia Divina*" :

If the whole ocean had inundated Gaul, it could not have ravaged it so horribly. For years the Vandals have turned the country into a shambles. They have spared neither sex nor age. All have been struck down. They are a tempest sweeping away both the good and the wicked—both the innocent and the guilty.

S. Orens was buried in the ancient oratory of SS. John, called in his day S. John of the Hawthorn (*albispinei*). Under his successor in the See, this church was rededicated in honour of the saint. After its ruin and the transfer of the cathedral in the sixth century, a Benedictine Abbey was erected in 956 on its site by Bernard le Louche, Count of Armagnac, and its church was consecrated in 1075. This monastery of S. Orens was afterwards reduced to a priory dependent on Cluni. Destroyed at the revolution, its scanty remains are now enclosed within the walls of the modern Ursuline convent. In 1609 some relics of S. Orens were solemnly translated to Huesca—the place of his birth, according to the fabulous Acts.*

* "*Acta SS.*," 1 Maii, t. xiv. p. 64.

Dom C. de Brugères states that the horn of S. Orens was still preserved in the priory, and that it was sounded on the last three days of Holy Week, in place of the bells, to summon the congregation.*

The closing years of the Roman Empire in the West witnessed the horrors of successive tides of barbarian invasion.

Within five years after the departure of the Vandals, the Visigoths, on quitting Italy, under the command of Ataulfus, had overrun the valley of the Garonne. They then passed into Spain, but their leader Wallia having entered shortly afterwards into a treaty with the Emperor Honorius, whereby the Visigoths obtained the concession of the south-western portion of Gaul as allies of the empire, they recrossed the mountains, and occupied the country stretching from the Garonne to the ocean. The royal residence was fixed at Toulouse, and the ruin of these opulent provinces, and of the Roman civilisation therein, dates from the establishment of the Arian Gothic kingdom.

Paulinus of Pella, in his *Eucharisticon*, has given a graphic picture of the sad condition of the Gallo-Roman inhabitants driven into exile, and reduced to poverty by the invaders.

For some years the Arian rulers granted to the people the free exercise of the laws and customs emanating from Rome, and even Byzantium. Severe decrees forbade polytheism and the public profession of heresies condemned by the Church, which still preserved her authority over the older race. Ewarik on obtaining the crown in 466, abolished this toleration, and entered on a stage of persecution. The vacancies caused by death or exile in the ranks of the Catholic clergy, were not allowed to be filled. By his order S. Justin, bishop of Auch, was slain, and the See remained vacant for fifteen years. Three other bishoprics in this province, and five in Aquitaine were deprived of their pastors. Bereaved of their prelates and spoiled of their goods, the churches everywhere fell into ruin. Catholics, who remained faithful to their creed, were subjected to odious vexations, and many suffered death. The feeble apostatised. The recital of the cruel persecution inflicted by this tyrant on his subjects may be read in S. Gregory of Tours (Lib. ii. c. 25), who borrows his description from the

* "*Chroniques Ecclésiastiques d'Auch*," 1746.

letters of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, the exiled bishop of the Anverni (Epist. vii. 6).

It is not surprising to find that the people longed to throw off the hated yoke of their Arian masters, and that they looked for a deliverer in Chlodowig and the victorious Franks, who had extended their sway as far as the northern bank of the Loire. Ewarik's successor Alaric, alarmed at the close proximity of such powerful neighbours, now thought of reconciling his Catholic subjects to his rule, but his concessions came too late, and were unavailing. On his death in the battlefield of Vouglé, the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul vanished away, the sole possession, north of the Pyrenees, left to his son Amalric, being the narrow tract of sea-coast known as Septimania—extending from these mountains to the Rhone.

Chlodowig restored the ruined churches in his new dominion, and gave them great endowments. At Auch, the cathedral of S. Orens being in ruins, he erected a stately basilica in honour of S. Martin outside the western wall of the old Roman city across the river. Its site is now on the north side of the convent of the Filles de Marie. The episcopal seal of Auch, bears the *Agnus Dei* on a field gules—an allusion doubtless to the early home of the See in the baptistery of S. John. This charge also appears on the coat of arms of the city.*

In 732, and again in 792, Aquitaine was devastated by the Saracens. On their first incursion Auch was destroyed with the exception of a small part of Elimberris—at that date uninhabited;† and the metropolis, Elusa, was levelled to the ground.‡ Henceforth the territory of the latter city ceased to appear as a separate diocese, and for the next hundred and twenty years its ecclesiastical province was annexed to the metropolitan See of Aquitania Secunda (Bordeaux).

Auch had hardly begun to rise from its state of ruin when the Normans sacked it in 844, and their ravages were not repaired for more than thirty years. Taurin II. (ob. 856) on

* Party perpale: 1. Gu. an. *Agnus Dei* arg. with cross or. 2. Arg. a lion ramp. gu. (for Armagnac).

† P. Lafforgue, "Hist. d'Auch," 1851.

‡ "Elusatum metropolis" in the ancient notices of the cities of Gaul, now Eauze, a small town of no importance. In the seventh and eighth centuries the district around it is called "pagus Elisanus." In the ninth century this "pagus" disappears and becomes "Comitatus Fidentiacus," or county of Fezensac.

his promotion to the bishopric found his city almost a desert, a few scattered houses were all that remained of the once flourishing capital of the Ausci. The three ancient churches had been demolished, and the basilica of S. Martin was a mass of ruins. Thinking wisely that the summit of the hill would prove a better post of defence against future attacks on his church and flock, than the low open ground on the right bank of the river, he rebuilt his cathedral on the site of the oratory of Our Lady erected by his saintly namesake and predecessor; and re-dedicated the altar in honour of her Nativity.

From the time of the Lower Empire, churches built against the eastern ramparts of a city, and strongly fortified, so as to form in case of necessity a second citadel, were common throughout Southern Gaul. Those of Lectoure and Eauze, and the Romanesque cathedral of Anch may be cited as examples of this method of defence.

Before his death, Taurin united the old primatial See of Elusa to that of Auch, which was consequently raised to metropolitan rank. Rabanus Maurus (ob. 856) mentions "*Auscitana metropolis cum sua provincia Novempopulana*," and Pope John VIII. addressed an epistle to Ayrard—the successor of Taurin—wherein he is styled Archbishop (879).*

From this date till the middle of the twelfth century the city appears to have enjoyed a season of peace and prosperity.

About 920 Guillaume-Garcie, Count of Fezensac, built his castle near the cathedral, and Auch became the nominal capital of his fief, though the city was under the feudal lordship of its Archbishop. The Counts of Armagnac had also a castle just outside the walls.

In 1038, the Archbishop, Raymond Copa, placed his chapter under the rule of S. Augustine; and his nephew, William Count of Fezensac, fortified with a wall and towers the new buildings erected for the residence of the Canons on the south side of the church. A new cemetery was also made near the cathedral, and its opening led to a quarrel with the monks of S. Orens, who possessed the monopoly of burial. Raymond was deposed on proof of a charge of simony brought against him in 1042, and the cemetery was closed by order of Pope

* "*Mansi*," t. xvii. p. 135.

Leo IX.* This decree was annulled at the entreaty of the next prelate—S. Austinde, who at the time of his election to the See was Abbot of S. Orens. He laid the foundations of a new and larger cathedral, which was not completed and consecrated till 1121. As primate of the two Navarres, S. Austinde held a Council at Jacca, at which three bishops from Aquitaine were present (1063).† This primacy over Haute Navarre dated from the beginning of the tenth century, for, in 946, Bernard of Auch wrote to Pope Agapitus II. announcing his confirmation as metropolitan, of the election of a bishop beyond the Pyrenees. The primatial jurisdiction of this See over Navarre—"beyond the mountains"—probably lasted as long as the Saracens exercised domination in Spain.

At this period the Archbishops resided in the old monastery of S. Martin, which had been partially restored, and they ascended only once a year to their cathedral across the river, in order to consecrate the chrism on Maundy Thursday. The Legate of Alexander II., Cardinal Hugh, who was charged with the reformation of abuses in Gaul, held a council at Auch in 1068. He ordered all prelates to live in their episcopal cities, but the transfer of the residence of the Archbishop of Auch was not effected till about the year 1100.

Meanwhile the monks of S. Orens, on the accession of Urban II. in 1088, prevailed upon the pontiff to restore their "rights" of burying the members of the Chapter. But his brief was shortly afterwards withdrawn, and the new Archbishop—Raymond de Pardiac—who had been a member of their community—was received with joy by the people, on his return from Rome, whither he had gone to get this brief rescinded, and at the same time obtain his pall. Pope Calixtus II. finally put an end to the scandal of the repeated applications by the monks to the Holy See, and formally condemned their pretensions.

The contents of his brief were notified to them by Archbishop Bernard II. who, assisted by his suffragans, proceeded to consecrate the new cemetery of St. Mary's, on April 28, 1119. At the high mass, celebrated by William, Bishop of Tarbes, in the presence of the Archbishop, of S. Bertrand de Comminges, and

* "Gallia Christ.," I. 979.

† "Mansi," t. xix. 929; "Acta SS.," 25 Septem. t. xlvii. p. 142.

of other prelates, the irritated monks in a state of fury against their Archbishop, invaded the cathedral, flung stones, and shot arrows at the altar. One shaft pierced the corporal, and the celebrant was wounded by another in the heel, while many laymen present were grievously hurt. The rebels, on retiring, set fire to the building. Their conduct was unanimously condemned at the Council of Toulouse, held a few months later.*

The race of the Counts of Fezensac came to an end in the male line in the person of Astanove II., who died in the first Crusade. Azaline, his daughter and heiress, married Arnaud-Bernard, Count of Armagnac, and the fief descended to their only child Beatrix, on whose death (c. 1140) it was united to the Comté of Armagnac by Géraud III. (ob. 1160)—the son and successor of Beatrix's first cousin, Bernard III. of Armagnac.† Auch thus became the capital of the two counties, and their union led to a disastrous conflict breaking forth in the next generation between the lay and spiritual powers—the former endeavouring to oust the Archbishop and Chapter from their temporal lordship over the city. These feudal rights had belonged to the See since the time of Chlodowig, who had bestowed on the church of Auch all rights possessed by the Crown over the city, and, until this rebellion, the Counts of Fezensac had paid homage to the Chapter as their feudal superior. The union of the two fiefs also led to the commencement of the fortunes of the proud and hardy race of Armagnac, who henceforth refused to recognise any suzerain authority, and, despite the remonstrances of several kings of France, now styled themselves "Counts by the grace of God."

Count Bernard IV. appears to have favoured the Albigensian heretics, and in 1171, during the absence in Rome of his brother-in-law, Archbishop Géraud de la Barthe, he pillaged and partially ruined the cathedral and cloister. On the Archbishop's return he was refused admittance into his city, and was compelled to take refuge in S. Martin's. The nefarious work was completed with the aid of Raymond, Count of Toulouse. Auch now became the centre of horrible scenes of riot and destruction, such as it had not experienced since its invasion by the Saracens.

* "Recueil des Hist. de France," xiv. 321.

† "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," iii. 45.

The noble Romanesque cathedral was abandoned to the hammers of its destroyers, and then delivered over to the flames. A like fate befell the residences of the Canons and their cloister, as well as the monastery of St. Martin.*

The Archbishop and the members of his Chapter were dispersed throughout the country, being chased like wild beasts for the space of two years, and compelled to wander from one place of refuge to another. All their property and goods were seized. The Archbishop, on one occasion, was surrounded in the Castle of Lamaguère, which was burnt over his head, and it was a miracle that he escaped with life.

During this reign of terrors all his lands and possessions were at the mercy of the Count and his accomplices. On Bernard's death in 1190, the persecuted prelate was allowed to return to Auch, where Gerard IV.—the new Count of Armagnac—seemed disposed to respect at least the ties of blood in his dealings with his uncle. For the sake of peace the Archbishop agreed that the feudal rights of the See should be shared in future with the Counts. While the Archbishop was trying to bring some order out of chaos into which his city had fallen, the news of the disasters in the Holy Land plunged Europe into mourning. Jerusalem had capitulated to the Saracens on October 2, 1187.

Baronius writes : "Vox ab Oriente auditur lugentium atque lamentantium interfectos populi Dei, et civitatem sanctam Jerusalem hostili pervasione vastatam."† Pope Urban III. died of grief at the news, and his successor, Gregory VIII., prescribed a general fast throughout Christendom.‡ Western Europe armed for the third Crusade. The Archbishop resolved to join the expedition, and, before starting, placed the administration of his diocese in the hands of Bernard, his archdeacon, and confided the protection of his churches and temporal goods to the care of his nephew. Then with his suffragan, Bernard Bishop of Bayonne, he joined in June 1190, the forces of Richard Cœur de Lion, who appointed the two prelates admirals of his fleets—"ductores et constabularios totius navigii sui"—says Roger de Hoveden.

* "Gallia Christ." I. Instrumenta, xi. p. 163.

† "Annales," t. xix. p. 579 (Lucæ, 1746).

‡ "Mansi," t. xxii. pp. 527-531 ; "Roger de Hoveden," ii. 322, 329 (Rolls Series).

The Archbishop was with the King of England at Messina in the following October, and was one of the sureties for his peace with Tancred. In May 1191 he was in Cyprus, and present at the coronation of Berengaria. On July 16 of the same year, he, with other bishops, purified the churches of Acre from the pollution of the pagans;* but did not live to see the end of the Crusade, dying early in 1192.

Armaniau de Grisinhac (1226–1242) obtained from Gregory IX. the privilege—then rare in the Church—of having the cross borne before him throughout the whole of his ecclesiastical province.† In 1241, while on his way to the Council with other prelates from France, the Genoese galleys conveying them were captured by the Pisan fleet, under the command of Enzo, the son of the Emperor Frederick, and the sixty bishops and abbots on board were taken to Naples and thrown into prison.‡ The Archbishop of Auch died the following year at Capua, while still a prisoner of the Emperor.

All that remains of the old Romanesque cathedral are an arcade of small columns and a few other fragments now standing outside the present chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. They can be best examined from the garden of the palace.

Armaniau II., a member of the powerful house of Armagnac, during his occupation of the See (1261–1318) made some vain attempts at rebuilding the ruined cathedral, but it was not till 1370 that the plan was decided on and the foundations laid. Little more was done during the schism of the West, which caused a lack of enthusiasm among the clergy and people. John, Cardinal Flandrin (1378–1390), had to rebuke his canons for their neglect of ecclesiastical rules. From his Statutes we learn that they were given to gaming and ball-playing, and bred sporting dogs in the cloister; besides going about in the town armed, and in secular costume, with shoes of green, red, or yellow; while in choir they appeared in ragged and dirty surplices. However in 1429 an attempt was made to carry on the work of rebuilding, which went on slowly till 1472, when a new disaster befell. By order of Louis XI. the Count of Armagnac—Jean V.—was besieged in his city of Lectoure,

* *Gesta regis Ricardi I. Benedicti Abbatis*, ii. 110–181 (Rolls Series).

† "*Gallia Christ.*" I. *Instrumenta*, xiii. p. 165.

‡ *Matthæi Parisiensis*, "*Chronica Majora*," iv. 125–130 (Rolls Series).

and the neighbouring district, including Auch, was given up to pillage by the royal forces. The Chapter found themselves forced to sell, for their ransom, part of their library, a great crucifix of silver, a silver image of Our Lady, and other treasures. In such a state of distress there was small hope of continuing the works. In 1483, François-Philibert of Savoy, brother of Louis XI. and uncle of the reigning monarch Charles VIII., was elected Archbishop. In October of the same year the King signed at Bourges letters of safe-conduct for "son très cher et amé oncle et cousin François, ainsi que pour ses chers et bien amés les chanoins de son église métropolitaine." This prince ruled his See by deputy for seven years, and the rebuilding of the cathedral was undertaken this time in earnest, the first stone being laid in 1489 by a Pierre d'Armagnac, perhaps a lineal descendant of that Count who had laid the former Romanesque church in ruins more than three hundred years before.*

The work was carried on with such alacrity that the choir and part of the transepts were completed in seventeen years, during the episcopate of Jean VI. Cardinal de la Trémouille, who died in 1507 at Milan while assisting at the triumphal entry into that city of his sovereign, Louis XII.

The stained glass of the chapels of the choir and apse and the magnificent stalls enclosing the choir were erected by the next Archbishop, François-Guillaume, Cardinal de Clermont-Lodève (1507-1538). This prelate was ambassador of France at the Court of Rome, but sided with Pope Julius II., against the schismatical council of Pisa and his own sovereign. Recalled in consequence of his conduct, he retired to his diocese, and made his solemn entry into Auch, accompanied by five bishops, on October 16, 1512.

According to custom, he was met at the city gate by the eight Consuls in red robes on horseback, the Canons of S. Mary, wearing mitres, and the Benedictine monks of S. Orens. They all accompanied him to the cathedral, his mule being led by the bridle to the door of the church by the "très noble et puissant seigneur le Baron de Montault" on foot. By the tenure of his office, the Baron was clad in a

* F. Caneto, "Atlas Monographique de S. Marie d'Auch," 1857.

white just-au-corps without a mantle, and with one leg bare, and his feet shod with leather sandals. On alighting a squire led the mule to the Baron's stable, and the Archbishop standing outside the door, took oath to observe the privileges of the Chapter. He was then conducted by the Baron de Montault to his throne in the choir, where he was duly installed, and afterwards to his palace by the said Baron, who served him at dinner; the perquisite for such service being all the plate displayed on the buffet.*

The Barons de Montault acquired their prerogative of thus receiving the Archbishop at the beginning of the twelfth century when Montarsin de Montault gave lands to the See for the erection of a palace. In 1547 the Cardinal de Tournon exposed on his buffet a single glass vessel instead of a service of plate, and the Baron de Montault of that day fell into such a rage at the slight thus put on his service, that he smashed it in pieces with his staff, at the same time uttering many invectives and menaces against the prelate and his guests.† In the seventeenth century their perquisite of the plate was commuted for the sum of 3000 livres paid for their service.

The eight consuls (octovirs) of the city held their authority from the Archbishops and Counts of Armagnac jointly. The Counts (after their extinction the Kings of France) and the Archbishops, on their accession, swore to maintain the rights and privileges of the city; while the Consuls in return took oaths of fidelity to them. They held office for one year, and had the privilege of choosing their successors. No Consul could be re-elected till after two years from the day on which he ceased his functions. This form of civic government lasted till 1666, when the communal powers were usurped by the Crown. In 1357 these magistrates were authorised to wear red robes and hoods—"les robes en mi partie drap de Flandre fourrées de peaux d'agneaux;" and in 1562 mention is made of "huit robes de rouge et noir doublées de satin." Until 1613, an annual allowance was granted for the purchase of new robes—amounting to 300 livres, a considerable sum at that date—but from that year the king's council ordered that the

* Bib. de la Ville MS. of Canon du Sendat, No. 78.

† Lafforgue, "Hist. d'Auch," i. 47.

expense be cut down, and each robe used for eight years, and then sold and the proceeds paid to the profit of the Commune; and that 50 livres be paid to each consul on retiring from office in compensation for his robe.*

The choir stalls had been erected before the visit to Auch on December 31, 1527, of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, and his queen, Marguerite d'Angoulême, sister of Francis I. The newly-wedded pair were solemnly installed in the left-hand stall on entering the choir, as sovereigns of the ancient County of Armagnac, being entitled to this stall as lay-canons in virtue of their rank as such rulers. Marguerite had brought in appanage to her husband the rich domain of the unfortunate Count Jean d'Armagnac, which had been annexed by Louis XI.; and it was as Count and Countess of Armagnac that they were thus installed, and took oath never to invade the rights of the church and chapter of Auch, but to protect and defend them. In a recess in the east wall of the old sacristy opening out of the south aisle are two early sixteenth century statues of Henri and Marguerite, in wood, painted and gilt, about four and a half feet in height, made in commemoration of their visit and oath. Between the two figures is a crucifix, to which the King raises his hand.

The right to a stall, with surplice and amyss, belonged also to four other lay canons beside the Count of Armagnac. These were the Barons of Montault, Pardailhon, Montesquiou and Isle de Noë, whose prescriptive rights date from the eleventh century. Their presence in choir was a simple privilege, and no obligation was entailed on the owners, who took possession of their stalls according to the date of their election thereto, the Crown-stall being the only one reserved.

Before the secularisation of the Chapter in 1549 by Julius III. the number of Canons, originally twenty-five, had been reduced to twenty in 1331. At their head was a prior, and among their number are specified a provost, precentor, sacristan, cellarer, porter, "ouvrier," "infirmier," and gardener. In the eighteenth century the Chapter was composed of twenty-five canons, a sacristan, eight archdeacons, the prior of Nôtre-Dame de Neiges and the abbots of Faget,

* "Archives de l'Hotel de Ville d'Auch."

Sere and Idrac. No one was received as a member who was not noble—"vel sanguine vel litteris." There were also in choir thirty-four prebendaries, who were divided into three classes attached to certain chapels, viz.:—twelve of S. Bartholomew founded in the twelfth century, ten of S. Martial, founded in the fourteenth century, and twelve of SS. Michael and James. Two prebends of the last had been founded in the fourteenth century by Hugues de Pardailhan. In addition to these were four prebendaries called Cantorales; eight chaplains of the Holy Ghost, founded in 1342; four chaplains called de Maurini, founded in 1506; twelve royal chaplains of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, founded in 1684; and an odd chaplain called "*La Lapide*." * In 1789, Auch was one of the wealthiest Sees in the kingdom, the net revenue of the Archbishop being 120,000 livres (£10,000—£12,000) per annum.†

The choir and transepts, shut off by a temporary wall from the still unfinished nave, were consecrated on February 12, 1548.

About this date, the Canons enclosed the east end of the choir with stone screens between the pillars of the apse, and their arrangement of the sanctuary was far superior to the one which unfortunately superseded it at a later date. The space was somewhat limited in area, and their design utilised it to the utmost extent possible. Entrances to the choir were left on the north and south sides in the bays immediately east of the stalls. Then came a flight of six steps, the topmost crowned by the altar-rail, not straight across the choir, but projecting in the centre westwards as far as a line drawn through the middle of the side doors. Within the altar-rail came a level space of nearly a bay's breadth before reaching the lowest altar-step. The high altar was raised on three steps, and thus stood nine steps in all above the level of the choir.‡ Behind it, and between the two eastern piers of the apse, stood the small altar used for the celebration of masses for the dead by the chaplains. In the centre of the reredos of the high altar was an open niche containing the great silver statue of the Madonna holding the Child on her left arm, and seated on a silver throne. This had been given by either the Cardinal de Tournon, or

* Bib. de la Ville, MSS. 72, 78 (du Sendat).

† Almanach Royale, 1789.

‡ "Bib. de la Ville," MS. 72 of Canon du Sendat.

Canon Jean de la Croix in 1545. The historians differ as to its donor. It is said to have been a beautiful specimen of early Renaissance workmanship, and was preserved in the Treasury in 1792. On the top of the screen between the two eastern pillars of the apse, the Canons placed a large wooden statue of Our Lady of Auch. (The modern statues under this title resemble in attitude those of Our Lady of Lourdes, but the gaze of the figure is directed downwards.) There can still be seen in the pillars the holes for the stanchions which retained this statue in position; and the hook above, from which was suspended the dais over it, is still in its place. On certain occasions, this wooden statue was lowered by means of a double set of pulleys from the top of the screen, and placed on a temporary pedestal before the altar. This interesting and effective arrangement of the sanctuary did not last for many years, as Archbishop Leonard de Trapes (1599–1629) remodelled the east end of the choir, and by his alterations sacrificed a large portion of the already limited area. He erected a new three-sided screen at a distance of about seven feet westward of the original screen built between the six pillars of the apse. This inner screen is much higher than the old one, so the latter was raised to the same height by a heavy wall of masonry and a tasteless balustrade, superimposed on the early Renaissance work; and the space between it and the new screen was vaulted over so as to form a gallery nine feet wide around the apse! For what purpose, or with what object, this was done, it is impossible to say. At the same time, the Archbishop reduced the height of the sanctuary floor by removing the old flight of six steps, and placed his new high altar in front of the new screen on four steps above the level of the choir.

The architect, Pierre Souffron, adapted in his new altar screen the columns and decorated panels of the inner side of the old one, by moving them forward, and re-arranging them. He also made use of the two tiny doors which existed in the original screen for the use of the servers at the altar, in the north and south bays immediately eastward of the side entrances to the choir. Within each of these doors, he placed a spiral staircase leading by a flight of forty-two steps from the aisle outside to the new gallery round the apse. Branching off

westward at each side from the top of the third step inside these doors, another flight of eight steps led to the ambones provided in the new design. Two small doors (now nailed up) in the new screen, at the ends of the high altar, also opened on this staircase, so that the sub-deacon and deacon had not to pass outside the sacrarium to reach their ambo, in order to sing the epistle and gospel. These ambones project from between two columns at the ends of the screen, and are only large enough for one person to stand in. They both face westward, and are no longer used. Turning eastward on entering the passage, between the screens, a flight of nine steps at each side under the gallery leads to the old altar, whereat the masses for the dead used to be said. It now stands out of sight under the vaulting of the gallery above it; and covered deep with dust is in its neglected condition a mournful protest against such ill-judged and badly planned alterations.

The new screen was not finished in 1609, when commissioners from the King examined the cathedral, as they reported that it was necessary to complete the new work about the high altar.

As for the venerable wooden image of Our Lady of Auch, it still occupied its old position under the eastern arch, though raised by several feet to the top of the addition to the outer screen. As it could no longer be lowered into the sanctuary, it would seem, judging from a rude hoop of iron still remaining affixed to the outer wall of the screen, as if it had been customary to lower it, on the appointed days for this ceremony, outside, and place it on this support in the ambulatory opposite the eastern chapel of the apse. At the Revolution, it was hurled down to the pavement, and its broken fragments carried out and burnt.

In place of the old silver statue mentioned above, another statue in silver of the Madonna had been given to the Chapter by Canon Louis d'Aignan du Sendat (ob. 1764) in his will. He composed the inscription on its base, recording his gift, and requested that the prayer "Inclina" should be daily recited for ever on behalf of his soul by the celebrant after mass, and likewise after compline. He also gave two candlesticks to stand always before the said statue, and be used at the high mass and vespers of the feasts of the B.V.M., and for payment

of the tapers therein burnt he left to the Chapter a sum of 200 livres. These two silver images were taken to the mint at Pau, and melted down in 1792; whereupon Barthe, the intruded Constitutional Bishop, clamoured so loudly for one to replace them, that the Director of the Museum of the Department delivered to him a statue of the Madonna and Child in white marble, which had been deposited in the museum as a work of art by the inhabitants of Vic-Fezensac, who had probably robbed one of their own churches of it. This beautiful statue now stands on a pedestal behind the high altar. The two massive brass candlesticks, about seven inches in height, given by Canon du Sendat are still in use, and stand on the "mensa."

During the sixteenth century, the nave and aisles were completed as far as the vaulting, but in consequence of the Wars of Religion, and the incursions into Gascony of the Huguenot Chief Montgomery and his devastations, they remained unroofed until 1618. A legacy left by Archbishop de Trapes enabled the necessary work to be completed. Auch always remained a Catholic and royalist city, though captured by the Huguenot forces in 1569.

In 1661, Gervais Drouët, "master architect of the city of Toulouse, and sculptor to the King," was appointed to erect the screen and rood-loft at the west-end of the choir. In the following year, Henri de la Mothe-Houdancourt, Bishop of Rennes, and grand-almoner of the Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, was nominated to the Archbishopric. He altered the original design of the screen which had been made at an earlier date, probably by the Chapter about 1550. The four statues on it were suppressed, and in place of the Madonna accompanied by angels, over the doorway, he ordered figures of the four evangelists, with their symbols, seated at a table to be substituted! The work was finished in 1671 in the heavy classic style of the period instead of in the elegant Renaissance of the earlier design. On the top of the screen were placed the Great Rood between SS. Mary and John, and at the ends David with his harp and Isaias with a saw. Outside and facing the nave were two altars; the one on the north side of the entrance dedicated to Our Lady, and the one on the south to S. Michael.

Anne of Austria having had a great devotion to the Holy Sepulchre, the Archbishop, at her death, caused the altar-piece in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre to be enriched with gold, and the walls "sprinkled with tears and fleur-de-lys in gold." He also instituted twelve chaplains thereto, with the obligation of celebrating a mass daily at this altar for the repose of the Queen's soul, except on Thursdays, when it was to be offered for the King and Royal Family. This mass was to be sung after all the other masses, and the "Libera" chanted after it by the twelve chaplains, who, according to the title of foundation, were to be nominated by the Crown. Two of these chaplains by turn were to visit the sick and dying every week, and when the Viaticum was carried from the cathedral, it was to be accompanied by four of them, two bearing white torches and two supporting the canopy.

Before the Archbishop's death in 1684, the two heavy western towers (150 feet in height and set too closely together) and the portico were built in keeping with the pseudo-classic taste of the time. He also provided for the clearance of the ground in front of the cathedral by buying up and sweeping away the narrow streets and houses which encroached upon the west front. In 1793, the Great Rood of his screen was pulled down and burnt, but the other statues were saved from destruction by being kept locked up in a side chapel until they could be replaced. All the altars in the chapels were also destroyed except those of the Holy Sepulchre and S. Katherine, which fortunately escaped the Revolutionary havoc.

The closing years of the reign of Louis XVI. were full of trouble for the Church in France. Louis Apollinaire de Latour-Dupin-Montauban, who was elected Archbishop in 1785, refused, with the majority of the clergy, to take the oath imposed by the State on all ecclesiastics. He was therefore deprived of his temporalities, but, ignoring the persecutions to which he was subjected, continued to fulfil the sacred duties of his office throughout his diocese to the last possible moment. An ordination held by him in his palace secretly at midnight was detected, and roused the anger of the revolutionary clubs, who caused the palace to be surrounded by troops early the next morning, when, however, it was found deserted; the prelate and clergy having made their escape in time. In order to

avoid the imprisonment which would have prevented him from ruling, as far as he could, his widowed diocese, the Archbishop took refuge in the Val d'Aran, just across the frontier of Spain. He was accompanied by his suffragan the bishop of Tarbes, and by the bishop of Lavaur. Barthe, dean of the faculty of theology at Toulouse, accepted the mitre as "Constitutional-bishop of Gers." His Gallican principles, pushed to their logical conclusion, had led him into the Constitutional schism, and, influenced either by ambition or by fear, he was enrolled a member of the Jacobin club. His intrusion into the arch-diocese was certainly against the wishes of the great majority of the faithful, for the Archbishop soon afterwards held another ordination in his Spanish retreat, to which flocked a large body of aspirants to holy orders from the neighbouring dioceses. This act of spiritual jurisdiction led to representations being addressed to the Court of Madrid by the Jacobins who governed France under the name of Louis XVI., and the exiled prelates were compelled to move further inland from the frontier. They journeyed southwards and found a resting place in the abbey of Montserrat.* After years of suffering and exile, the Archbishop resigned his See under the new arrangements whereby his province was obliterated from the ecclesiastical map, and was appointed bishop of Troyes. By the concordat entered into with the Holy See in 1802, part of the diocese of Auch was annexed to the bishopric of Agen, and it was not till twenty-one years later that this ancient province was restored to existence greatly shorn of its former extent and jurisdiction.

By the wanton alterations and so-called "restoration" carried out during the present century, irreparable mischief has been effected in many of the ancient churches and cathedrals of France. These changes have far surpassed the devastation of the Revolution. Since that date the shepherds have wrought more havoc in the sheepfolds than the wolves of 1793.

The mania for altering the works of their forefathers, which were in accordance with the spirit of Catholic ritual, and the beautiful exponents of the mysteries of the Faith, has led in too many instances to the symbolism of the arrangements of an old church being lost sight of and ignored in these changes.

* J. Delbrel, S.J., in "Revue de Gascogne," 1892.

Auch has fallen a victim to this deplorable meddling. As soon as the see was re-constituted in its ancient home, a proposal was put forward to sweep away the choir-screen and rood-loft in order to obtain a "vista." Canon Darré (ob. 1833) was a vigorous opponent of this iconoclastic scheme, and on one occasion when the subject was being discussed in chapter, transported with indignation, he ended the debate by an apostrophe which has been recorded:—

"Sortez de vos tombeaux, pontifes venerables,
 "Dont le zèle crea ces pieux monuments
 "D'anathème frappez ces projets trop coupables
 "Vos chefs-d'œuvre sont faits pour voir le fin des temps!"*

It is ever to be regretted that his conservative zeal did not influence his successors and make them reject the proposed alterations which were carried out about 1860 when the screen was pulled down. The magnificent returned stalls within, with the carved canopy-work over the door, would have been also sacrificed if the work of destruction had not been stopped in time by order of the Government. Now that the choir screen and rood-loft were swept away and the stalls remained untouched, the persons responsible for the former act of Vandalism had to devise a new plan to conceal their devastation. So they decided, as they could not have their "vista," that they would shut off the choir entirely, and no longer use it! They therefore erected an organ on the top of the new screen, which they were obliged to erect in order to hide the backs of the returned stalls; and put up a new high altar just in front of the old entrance to the choir, and enclosed a space about it, at the intersection of the transepts, with low seats for the clergy. In place of the old screen with its two altars, statues and rood, we now find a thin wooden erection adorned with feeble paintings, quite out of harmony with the old woodwork. They had sufficient grace to suspend a crucifix from the vault above the organ, but this is a poor substitute for the great cross of the old rood-loft.

These changes were made "dans l'intérêt des cérémonies religieuses," as a little guide-book to the cathedral artlessly remarks. It is a matter for regret that the sense of devout

* Caneto, "Monographie de S. Marie d'Auch," 1850.

reverence for the Divine Mysteries, as evidenced by the arrangements of our old Gothic churches, should have fallen in these days into such abeyance, and that the example of the Catholic churches of the East in their ritual arrangements be not oftener remembered. Let any one who has witnessed (as may be done in Rome) the celebration of Mass according to the Armenian or Greek rites, and noted the significance of the ritual use of the curtains about the altar in the former, and of the iconostasis in the latter—say whether the reverence due to the sublime Sacrifice of the Altar be not enhanced by such concealment.

At Auch there is an ancient example of this reverent regard for the Blessed Sacrament in the central chapel of the apse arranged for the Reservation of the Host. The old altar is gone, but its vaulted canopy, carved out of one immense block of stone, and stretching from one side of the chapel to the other, still remains. Slightly arched in the centre and pierced with Gothic tracery it overhangs the altar. In olden days before the invention of the modern tabernacle, the ciborium in the shape of a dove was drawn up under its protecting vault by means of a pulley, and a curtain drawn across concealed it and the entire altar from view. The venerable Archbishop Leonard de Trapes (ob. 1629) bequeathed by his will a “tente” of tapestry to this chapel.

Two other altars escaped the devastation of the Revolution, and are beautiful examples of their respective dates.

1. The altar-piece in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is of Flamboyant work, but in a style so severe and simple in treatment that one is inclined to believe that it was one of the earliest altars erected in the present church. Under a large niche is shown the entombment of Our Lord, with life-size figures in white marble.

2. The retable in the Chapel of S. Catherine still remains, but the three statues of S. Catherine between SS. Peter and Henry are modern. It is of early Renaissance work, and below the capitals of its pilasters runs the inscription:—

Memento mei o mater iesus christi salv. dei memento.

L'an M^oVCXXIII. et le XV. de Fevrier fut commencé à foder.

O mater Dei memento Maria gratia plena.

The statues formerly on the old rood-loft (SS. Mary and

John, and David and Isaias) have been placed on the top of the screen encompassing the high altar, and in the centre above the reredos is the group of Evangelists with their symbols which formerly stood over the west door of the choir. On the under side of the table is the inscription:—"Gervais Drovét a accompli ce jube avec les figures l'an 1671." It is needless to remark how much out of place these statues are in their present position!

No other church in Europe possesses such a complete series of windows filled with stained glass of the early Renaissance period. Arnault de Moles, who executed the work from 1507 to 1513, was doubtlessly inspired by the Italian art of his day. The noble outlines of his designs, and the expressive faces of his figures, are especially noteworthy. The patriarchs, prophets, sibyls, kings, saints, and apostles here figured, with accompanying scenes relating to them, form a series of pictures remarkable for correct drawing, rich colour, and rare artistic intelligence. Beginning with the Creation, the artist has shown the parallel between the Old and New Testaments in the characters here represented. Jesus crucified, the crowning figure of all, is the keynote of the whole design, being the sublime end of the written Law and Tradition of all ages.

Of Arnault de Moles nothing certain is known beyond that he was a native of St. Sever in the Landes. The inscriptions placed on his glass are in the "patois" of Gascony. Thanks to the magnificent patronage of Anne of Brittany and the Cardinal George d'Amboise, the arts in France were strongly inspired by the great schools of Italy. The Archbishop of Auch was the nephew of George d'Amboise, and it was during his residence in Rome, as ambassador of the most Christian king, that the windows of his cathedral were designed. It is probable that he may have selected for that purpose a French artist then studying in Rome. Whether this were so or not, his choice was a happy one. Arnault de Moles has left his name on record—perhaps with intention—immediately beneath the words "*Noli me tangere*" below the figure of S. Mary Magdalene—the last figure in the series; and thereby adopted this inscription, as the solemn and touching expression of his wishes on the completion of his work. The glass has been wonderfully preserved despite the lapse of time and the broom

of Maître Baudet, who was paid by the Chapter, according to an agreement dated 1712, the sum of 75 *livres* annually for ordinary repairs, and "sweeping away the spiders."

The choir-stalls, erected about the same time as the stained glass, are the finest specimens of wood-carving known to exist of this date. They have the colour and lustre of old bronze, obtained—according to the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc—by the oak, after seasoning and steeping, having been submitted to the action of smoke.

The carving is remarkable for its beauty and forcible expression. Both sacred and profane history have been ransacked for scenes and figures worthy of representation. Mythology and legend contribute subjects, while symbolism riots in the midst of details and a multitude of graceful arabesques, flowers and animals. All, however, are executed in due order and proportion, and in subordination to the unity of design conceived and executed by the fruitful imagination of the master mind of a great artist.

In the chapels of the crypt under the apse are the tombs of SS. Leotard, Taurin and Austinde, whose relics were translated from the Abbey of S. Orens in the fifteenth century, as soon as the crypt was ready to receive them. The remains of S. Leotard (ob. 718) rest in a sarcophagus of white marble above the altar dedicated to him. This tomb dates from an earlier period, and is probably of fifth-century workmanship. The two triangular ends, and one side of the lid, are carved with scales, while its front has three concentric rings, enclosing the Greek letters XP. between Omega and Alpha. This design is repeated on the front of the sarcophagus, and is there surrounded with the mystic emblems of the tree, vine and ivy in separate compartments. The two other tombs have flat lids, and are of late Gothic design, dating from the period of the translation. It is owing to the debased taste of the seventeenth century that Auch still possesses these interesting examples of Christian art. Archbishop de Vic (1629–1661) caused the tombs to be covered over with a wooden wainscot, and being thus concealed, their existence was forgotten at the time when the church was desecrated.

They were all opened in 1610, and the contents found intact, with the exception of the portions contained in the reliquaries

of the cathedral. The silver bust enclosing the head of S. Taurin disappeared in 1793. The learned Jesuit Antoine Mongailhard, Rector of the College of Auch, was an eye-witness of this solemn verification of the relics, and has left full details of the examination then made. His MSS. collections towards a history of Gascony have never been published,* but will prove a mine of wealth to any future historian of this part of France. His valuable researches among archives which have since perished were too soon ended by his early death.

R. TWIGGE, F.S.A.

* Preserved in the Grand Seminary, Auch.

ART. V.—SIX WEEKS IN RUSSIA.

IT is a strange thing, with a people so fond of seeing new countries and so devoted to travelling as the English, how small a number, comparatively speaking, take the trouble to visit Russia. Yet there are few if any nations more full of interest and of study, and none certainly in Europe where old traditions, old beliefs and primitive habits and costumes are so universally retained. If we look to the future, also, there is no country which has so grave and important a bearing on the rest of the world. The great Napoleon declared that in a hundred years Europe would be either Republican or Russian; and the most earnest thinkers both in Germany and Italy have held the same opinion. The strength of Russia does not consist mainly in its enormous population, its extensive treasures, or its formidable army, but specially in its having preserved intact the principles which can alone secure the stability of a nation; we mean, its deep religious feeling, and its respect for authority. The monarchical principle among the mass of the Russian population is recognised as essential to their welfare, and is invested besides with a religious character which makes it sacred in their eyes. Their affection for the Czar is undoubted. They call him "Father," he addresses them as his children; and it never occurs to them that any decree issued by him can be otherwise than right and good. But, above all, the strength of Russia consists in the unity of dominant ways of thinking. In Russia there are no newspapers save those which emanate from the Government, and therefore no public opinion is formed hostile to the views therein expressed. However galling it may be to foreigners to find their books and papers sequestered at the frontier and submitted to the most rigorous censorship, there is no doubt that this system has maintained the faith of the people and effectually stopped the flow of atheistic and socialist literature which has brought forth such bitter and evil fruits throughout Europe.

The first thing that strikes a foreigner after crossing the frontier and entering the government of Kieff, is the immense

extent of the corn-fields on either side of the train. The country is a dead flat ; there are neither hedges nor trees, but miles upon miles of waving corn, looking in the blue distance almost like the sea, only occasionally broken by patches of cascias, with its white, star-like flowers. A visit in the country in this part of Russia has great charms, but also its drawbacks, and the main one is the absence of anything which can be called decent roads. There is not a bit of stone of any sort to be found in the whole of this part of the country ; so that the moment you leave the train you come upon tracks which are either knee-deep in bog and water, or else full of a thick and penetrating dust which cakes over face and hands, and seriously interferes with any pleasure in driving. Four, six, and even eight and ten horses are often needed to drag a carriage through the holes and ruts ; and those who are nervous had certainly better not attempt any expeditions.

On arriving at a country-house, the first offering made to the guest is a tray with bread and salt, which is their way of expressing hospitality, very much as the Arab does in the desert. The national dress is universally worn and is most picturesque. The women wear richly embroidered petticoats and vests with full white sleeves, short blue jackets, and head-dresses of various coloured ribbons, with strings of coral round their necks. Their feet and legs are bare, except on Sundays and festivals, when they wear high red-leather boots. The men have rough jackets and vests, fur caps, high boots and bright red sashes. The condition of the peasantry in this part of Russia is one which would contrast favourably with many parts of Great Britain and Germany. Since serfage was abolished, they have become small peasant proprietors, each with a piece of land round their prettily-thatched wooden houses, and with tiny gardens full of sunflowers, the seeds of which form a staple article of food. Nothing can be more striking than the affection of the people for their landlords and their interest in all that concerns both them and their families ; an interest which, we are bound to say, is reciprocal. They are extraordinarily ingenious in wood-carving and carpentering of all kinds. Most of the proprietors have large industrial schools where different trades are taught ; and almost all the furniture in their country-houses is made by the boys.

The girls are equally skilful in all kinds of embroidery, not only for their own dresses, but for table-covers and table-linen. They make also every description of basket and straw chairs, an industry which was started by Princess Lapouchine at her beautiful home, Korsoun, and specimens of which are sold at all the railway-stations.

There are fine woods adjoining all these country places, and nothing can equal the comfort of their houses or the kindness and hospitality shown to the traveller.

There are a few nicely-kept Catholic churches in this part of the country; one at Tagantcha, where the proprietor is a Catholic; another at Smela, and so on. But the priests are lamentably few, and Mass is only said once a fortnight in some of them. The congregations are almost exclusively Polish, although the agents and some of the landlords may be French, Italian, or German.

No one can linger in this part of the world, however, without going on to Kieff, the Jerusalem of Russia, and the greatest sanctuary of the whole nation. Thousands of pilgrims flock here from all parts of the kingdom, and even from Siberia, toiling on foot, wayworn and weary, living mainly on black bread and water, yet always saving some kopecks to give at the altar, or to buy a candle for Our Lord or Our Lady's shrine.

The first place which a stranger is taken to see is a large public garden, overlooking the Dnieper, and richly wooded, in which stands a magnificent statue of St. Vladimir, who first brought Christianity into Russia, and who had all his people baptized in the magnificent river below. The holy King is represented standing and holding a great cross in his hand. The wooden chapel in which the first Mass was said is kept as a relic, surrounded with an iron railing, and has a green zinc roof with a gold cross on the top. His son, Jaroslav, in gratitude for his victories and for the consolidation of his dynasty, erected a magnificent cathedral, which he dedicated to Santa Sofia (or the Divine Wisdom), which was consecrated in 1046, and may be looked upon as the Mother Church of Russia. It is not only a cathedral, but an immense Ecclesiastical Establishment surrounded by a wall, and containing the palace of the metropolitan, the monastery of the monks attached to the Basilica, a library, and a home for pilgrims. A fine tower

crowns the principal gateway, containing twenty bells of beautiful and harmonious tones. The Russians have a passion for good peals of bells, and it may be said that the whole atmosphere breathes in that way the solemn voice of religion. The interior of the cathedral is divided into seven naves by massive pillars; and in the apse are the most beautiful old mosaics on a gold ground in perfect preservation, though dating from the foundation of the church.

The celebration of High Mass in the Oriental Rite is a magnificent sight, and the music is ideal. But what is the most striking is the behaviour of the people, their extraordinary recollection and devotion, without moving or uttering a syllable during these long services, to every part of which they pay the closest attention, all joining in the responses and chaunts with the greatest fervour and piety. This is the more remarkable when we remember that there are no chairs or seats of any sort; and that the whole congregation stands, kneels, or prostrates itself in adoration throughout the service. No musical instrument is allowed; but the voices of the chaunters are so beautiful and so well harmonised, while the music is so solemn and so well adapted to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, that no one can fail to be impressed by it, and to wish that in our Catholic churches a similar use prevailed.

In the same square as Sta. Sofia is the Church of St. Michael, which is remarkable from the fact that, although nearly as ancient as the cathedral, all the inscriptions on the mosaics are in the Slav language, or what is called *Cirillicza*. There is a very fine old picture of the Archangel adorned with precious stones, which the Emperor Alexander I. always took with him in his campaigns, and which was finally given to this church by Nicholas I. There is also a beautiful silver sarcophagus containing the body of St. Barbara, which was brought to Kieff in the year 1100, and which is an object of immense devotion among the people, who come there to pray for a happy death. The Church of St. Andrew is also a very fine building placed on a hill, where, according to the pious legend, St. Andrew planted the first cross. From hence there is a beautiful view of the whole town and of the river below.

There is a new Basilica in process of construction by the Government and dedicated to St. Vladimir, which in richness

of material and lavish expenditure exceeds any modern temple in Europe. White marble from Carrara, black columns from Finland, agates from Siberia, and the choicest paintings and mosaics decorate the interior; while its seven golden cupolas and the gold cross which surmounts the whole, combine to make it one of the most striking monuments of modern Christian piety.

No one, however, has seen Kieff who has not visited the enormous monastery or "Lavra," which is the place of Pilgrimage of all Russia, and contains within its walls the most ancient and the richest sanctuaries in the kingdom. It lies a little outside the town, and is, in fact, a huge fortress and a city in itself, with its churches and towers, catacombs, and shrines, monastic buildings (containing upwards of 2000 monks), hospitals for pilgrims, a great bakery, where thousands of hosts and little loaves of blessed bread are daily made, an equally huge printing press, from whence religious books are issued, and a vast studio where *Icons* or holy pictures are painted and gilt and then sold in quantities to the pilgrims, the number of whom amounted last year to upwards of a million. The arsenal is in front of the principal gate of this monastery, which made Padre Vanutelli exclaim in his recent work on Russia:

If the eagle be the symbol of Russian power in a political sense, it is equally applicable in a moral one; for there is a continual union of these two elements in this country—Christianity and brute force.

Passing through this great gate, one comes upon groups of pilgrims in every direction, some lying on the ground, resting on their bundles in the shade of the trees; others hastening to the services in the different churches, or purchasing holy pictures at the little shops near the gate. But none beg or ask for alms, though the majority are of the poorest class. The largest of the churches is that of the Assumption, the interior of which is rich beyond description. The iconostasis is in silver gilt and is the gift of Peter the Great. There is an immense picture of the Blessed Virgin in the middle, covered with jewels, which in times of sickness and on certain great feasts is taken down and carried in procession; for nowhere is Our Lady so venerated and so frequently invoked

as in Russia. There is also a beautiful sarcophagus of St. Theodosius, and a famous relic of St. Vladimir; but the church is so dark and the crowd of pilgrims so great that it is difficult to see anything satisfactorily.

To the right of this church is a high tower, with a magnificent peal of bells.

On leaving this sanctuary, the visitor descends by a long path and then a covered way, with a succession of staircases, to the catacombs of St. Antony, which, in reality, give the name to the Lavra, *Pecersk* or *Pecerskaia*, signifying grottos or catacombs. There you come to a vast hall adorned with frescoes of the Last Judgment, and depicting the joys of the blessed and the torments of the damned; and here you purchase a candle and are escorted by a monk through a succession of galleries, which are so low and narrow that only one person can pass at a time, while the heat and odour of the pilgrims make them almost insupportable. At last one emerges into a wider space, where on each side, in niches, are the bodies of the saints in open sarcophagi, dressed in the vestments of their respective ranks, among the principal of which is St. Antony, the founder of the monastery in the eleventh century, who rests in a magnificent silver tomb, before which lamps are always burning. Every pilgrim makes the sign of the cross, kisses the crucifix on the breast of the body and says an ejaculatory prayer. Here and there, where the space allows, little chapels and altars have been erected where Mass is said continually for the dead. Many were martyrs for the faith during the Tartar invasion, and their names and the emblems of their martyrdom are affixed to the shrine.

Throughout Russia there is a great devotion towards the departed, and prayers for the dead are continually said. If a person dies in the town, the picture of his or her patron saint is hung outside the door, which is an invitation to every one, even strangers, to go in and say a *De profundis* by the coffin of the deceased. And all who meet a funeral, stop, take off their hats, say a little prayer and do not move on till the procession is out of sight. Would that the same pious custom were universally observed!

It was a great relief to leave this necropolis, with its

stifling atmosphere, and return to the fresh air. It is difficult to imagine how the monks who live in it all day long and some of whom sleep in it, can endure such an existence. Yet some of the more austere amongst them voluntarily choose this life, from a spirit of penance and mortification. There is a second catacomb of St. Theodosius further on; but not so large and less interesting. As we have said before, there are upwards of 2000 monks in this monastery, all following the rule of St. Basil, never touching meat, and observing besides the strictest fast at certain seasons. The hospice for the pilgrims is admirably managed, with an enormous refectory in which meals, free of cost, are given for three days and often longer; but the numbers are so great that many eat their dinners under the trees in the court outside. The refectory is built in the shape of a chapel with holy pictures at one end, before which lamps burn continually; and during the meals, one or other of the monks reads a pious book to them, or says some prayers. Just outside the refectory, is a little recess with a long table, presided over by certain monks and thronged with pilgrims all day long. Here each man or woman gives a tiny bit of money with a paper on which is written a certain name, and receives in return a very small white loaf. On asking for an explanation, we found that the next day there was to be a solemn Mass, on which occasion every one who wishes to have a name mentioned in the *memento* for the living or the dead, must present this little loaf at the altar with the name. The deacon with a lancet cuts out a tiny piece of the bread for consecration and gives back the rest to the pilgrim, who either eats it in company with his devout friends, or else preserves it as a memento of the pilgrimage. In the meantime, the fragment is consecrated and the name of the person for whom the intention is made is read out during the Mass, so as to obtain the prayers of all the congregation before the consecrated particle is consumed by the pilgrim.

The Catholic church is placed in the centre of the city, and was formerly part of an ancient Dominican convent founded by St. Hyacinth. This convent was three times sacked by the Tartars, and, on one occasion, St. Hyacinth escaped by a miracle across the Dnieper, bearing in his arms the Blessed

Sacrament and a heavy statue of Our Lady. It is a fine church ; but the congregation is almost entirely Polish. It is a sad thing that Catholicism should be so exclusively represented in this country by the Poles, whom every Russian considers inimical to the Emperor and the nation ; and this is, in reality, one of the gravest difficulties in the way of that union with the Holy See which so many of the most earnest thinkers in Russia desire. More than a century of persecution for their faith has (naturally) equally embittered the Poles against the Russians ; and their last unfortunate rebellion, thirty years ago, has accentuated this hatred on both sides. More and more earnest should be the prayer of all Catholics that these unhappy differences may, by degrees, be appeased, and that this union may be effected, which alone can give stability to the Russian Church and stop the ever-increasing sufferings of the Polish people.

We have lingered long in this Jerusalem of Russia, and now must hasten on to that which is the real heart and centre of the Russian nation—that is, the unique and beautiful city of Moscow, the mother and true metropolis of the whole people.

The journey from Kieff takes about thirty-six hours, but the trains are so comfortable and the carriages so well hung that there is scarcely any movement, and one can sleep as comfortably as in bed. The country is still flat, with miles of corn ; the stations are picturesque wooden buildings ; but there are scarcely any houses or villages to be seen along the road till you arrive at Toula, a great commercial town, famous for its “small arms” factories and its immense metal works.

Specimens of *samovars* (the Russian urn for making tea), and every kind of silver and copper articles may be seen at the station. Toula is a fine city on the river Oka, and contains no less than thirty churches, while it is the seat of the civil and military governors, and also of the bishop.

One striking thing at the Russian stations where people stop for breakfast or dinner, is the number of nuns, dressed in black, who never speak or beg, but hold out a little metal plate, in which every one puts something, which they acknowledge with a low bow, but in silence. No one seems to resent this mute appeal, and every one, rich and poor, responds to it. This

is only another proof of the way in which religion in Russia is associated with every act in the daily life of the people.

Moscow takes its name from the river which divides it, and is one of the most picturesque and beautiful cities in the world.

The Kremlin is its centre, and contains, not only the vast Imperial palace, but the most magnificent cathedrals and churches, the archbishop's palace, two very large convents, a lofty tower, the arsenal, the barracks and a mass of public buildings.

The principal entrance is by the Gate of the Saviour (called Spasski), of red marble, built in 1491 by an Italian, Pietro Solaro, of Milan. In the centre is a beautiful picture of Our Lord, before which every man takes off his hat, makes the sign of the cross, and says an ejaculatory prayer. It is curious to see this done, even by the men and boys at the tops of omnibuses as they pass through the great square. Certainly, Our Lord *reigns* in Moscow, receiving there the homage due to His Divine Majesty as in no other city in the world.

Passing through this beautiful gateway, we arrive at a vast space, in which the principal figure is a gigantic tower, from whence there is a glorious view of Moscow, with the river flowing below the Kremlin's crenellated walls, and with all the beautiful villas and woods beyond. At the foot of this tower is the well-known bronze bell, the largest ever cast in the world, which was manufactured and hung in 1645, but subsequently fell and was cracked, so that it is silent for evermore.

A little beyond is an equally gigantic cannon, called the *Czar Puska*, surrounded by hundreds of other big guns taken in different battles, and other specimens of artillery.

Beyond the tower is the glorious Cathedral of the Assumption (Ouspensky Sobor), with its golden domes and untold riches within, where the Czars are all crowned and the Patriarchs buried. It was built in 1475, by Fioravanti, a Bolognese architect, but is unfortunately so dark within that one cannot get a good photograph or drawing of the interior. Every column is painted, as well as the walls and dome; and the gold iconostasis is a marvel of richness and beauty. There is a picture of Our Lady supposed to be painted by St. Luke, and which was brought to Russia from Constantinople in 1154.

The frame is valued at 200,000 roubles, and the emerald on her forehead at 30,000 roubles. But the multitude of priceless jewels which adorn all the pictures and reliquaries must be seen to be believed. The lamps, missals, chalices, ciboriums, cruets, vases, and every other requisite for the Divine Service, are equally magnificent. There is nothing in Rome to be compared with them, even in the sacristy of St. Peter's. The tabernacle is in pure gold, most artistically carved—so also is the altar; and the oval cup for the holy oils, with which the Emperor is anointed at his coronation, is of the purest jasper, set in gold and enamel.

The "Red" staircase, called also that of the "Lions" on account of the representation of these beasts on the banisters, leads to the Palace of the Emperors, who pass that way to the cathedral at the time of their coronation.

The second cathedral in the Kremlin is dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Here all the Czars were buried till Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg. This cathedral was built in 1505, by Alexio Novi, a Milanese architect, and is of the same style as that of the Assumption. There is a beautiful monument to a boy Czar, who was assassinated at seven years old, and a bas-relief of the child is placed above the sarcophagus which contains his remains.

The third cathedral is dedicated to the Annunciation, and here formerly all the Czars were baptized and married. It contains beautiful frescos of the fifteenth century, and the pavement is in jasper, given by the Shah of Persia to the Czar Alexis. Needless to say that all these churches are filled with beautiful relics and holy pictures set in gold and jewels, and church plate of untold value. There is also a large monastery adjoining, and an immense convent with three chapels and upwards of 100 nuns, who keep a kind of perpetual adoration and offer prayer day and night for the living and the dead. They wear a heavy black dress, with a black pointed capote and veil, never touch meat, and lead very austere lives. Their principal occupation besides prayer is the making of altar-breads, which, in winter, must be pleasant, but in the tropical heat of a Moscow summer must be most trying.

The Church of the Twelve Apostles contains a very curious old picture of St. Peter and St. Paul, dating from the

twelfth century. Here the holy oils are prepared during Lent, and are kept in silver vases.

In the Church of the Apostle St. Philip are some very fine relics, among others one of the robe of Our Lord. The Patriarch's Palace is next to this church, and contains a vast and valuable library.

But it is time to speak of the vast Kremlin Palace, the greater part of which is comparatively modern, but contains wonderful treasures in the way of armour, gold and silver plate, carriages and sledges of great antiquity, crown jewels and dresses worn at the coronation of the Czarinas, and endless other curiosities. The halls of audience are very large. There is a very fine picture of Répine's at the head of the great staircase, representing the peasants doing homage to Alexander III. ; and a very curious dining-room built in 1491, having in the middle a great square pillar which supports the vaulted roof. Here, after the coronation, the Emperors always give a great dinner to the foreign ambassadors. The walls are painted in fresco with scenes from the Old Testament. But the most interesting part of the palace is an old wing, which has been preserved intact since the fifteenth century, which was formerly inhabited by the Czar, and which contains the antique furniture, curious pavement, windows, and doors which were in use at that period.

There is also, in the inner court of the palace, a most curious old church called *Spass na born* (Our Saviour in the Forest), which was the first of all the Moscow temples and built in the thirteenth century, and there is a private chapel in the palace itself, with beautiful relics and magnificent church plate. Leaving the Kremlin by the same gate of "The Saviour," you come into what is called the "Red" squares, formerly the place of execution, and see, just in front, the curious Cathedral of St. Basil, built in 1554 by Ivan the Terrible, as a thank-offering for the capture of Kazan. It consists of eleven chapels crowned with a like number of domes of different colours, one more brilliant than the other. It is a strange and fantastic building if you will, but most picturesque as a whole. The Czar Ivan was so afraid that the architect might produce another like it, that he actually had his eyes put out.

In no country in the world is there greater devotion to the Blessed Virgin than in Russia, and especially in Moscow. At every corner of the street there is a little chapel dedicated to her, always open, always bright with candles and flowers, and always full of worshippers, principally working men. But especially is that the case with what is called the *Iverskaia*, which is a shrine built against the centre wall of the Iberian Gates. No Russian ever comes to Moscow without visiting this sanctuary, and the Emperor himself never fails, on entering the city, to go and kneel before this picture of Our Lady and implore her protection before undertaking any important work.

This particular picture is painted on wood in the Byzantine style, and closely resembles the one in the Borghese Chapel in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome. Our Lady has a scar on her left cheek caused by a blow inflicted by a Tartar, whose arm was paralysed in consequence. This picture is constantly taken in a gala carriage, drawn by six horses and with footmen in full dress to visit the sick and dying, or on the occasion of some great family feast, and during its absence from the chapel a very accurate copy takes its place. The original was brought from Mount Athos in 1648.

But it is not only in these wayside chapels that Our Lady is thus honoured. On every gateway and principal building, in every shop, in every café or restaurant, her picture, with her Divine Son, is hung in the most prominent place, with one or more lamps burning before it, and no one passes it, or goes in and out, or takes even a glass* of tea, without first making the sign of the cross and saying a little ejaculatory prayer.

Another magnificent church in Moscow is a modern one, built by the Emperor Nicholas as a thank-offering for the deliverance of Moscow from the French in 1812 and dedicated to Our Saviour.

It is said to have already cost the Government twenty millions of roubles. The inside is beautifully decorated with very devotional pictures and exquisite marbles, and that is another thing which strikes one in Moscow—the deep and tender religious feeling shown by modern artists in Russia in

* No cups or milk are used in Russia, only glasses with a slice of lemon in the tea, and some sugar.

their representations of sacred subjects, which are in very painful contrast to those produced in France or in England; or even in Italy, in these days of her spiritual decadence. A beautiful and well-kept garden surrounds this church, and a staircase to the south-east of the building leads down to the River Moskva, where there is a large basin for the consecration of the water on the anniversary of the baptism of Our Lord. The number of convents and religious houses in Moscow exceeds belief, but there is one outside the town, in the centre of the cemetery, called Novo Diévitchy (or the Virgins) which is very interesting in an historical sense. It was built in 1524 and is in reality an agglomeration of churches and conventual buildings, surrounded by a crenellated wall with sixteen picturesque towers. The abbess's rooms are curious as having been the place of imprisonment of the Regent Sophia, sister of Peter the Great, who had 300 of the Strelitz, who had supported her cause against him, hung under her very windows. Répine, the famous portrait painter, has made a wonderful picture of this subject.

There are two Catholic churches in Moscow, one entirely for the French, with French priests, and French sisters for the schools and hospital; and another, a little further off, for the Polish population. But they are maintained with difficulty and subject to vexatious restrictions, one being their having to be closed except during the time of Mass or Divine Service. The sisters also are not allowed to wear their religious dress, which is an inconceivable act of tyranny in a country where nuns in their habits swarm in every church and chapel and even at the railway-stations.

There is only one order of Russian Sisters of Charity in Moscow, founded by the Princess Schakhorskoy, who is a kind of Mother-general, wears the dress, has a large orphanage in her own house, and, adjoining it, a beautiful hospital for the insane. It is a magnificent foundation, placed near the great Military Hospital; and the princess is universally loved and respected. But the charitable institutions of the city are on a colossal scale. The Foundling Hospital contains between 14,000 and 15,000 babies, with upwards of 600 wet-nurses, and a vast Lying-in Hospital. One of the most stringent regulations relates to the baptism of the children; so, as the Russian

sacraments are valid, one has the consolation of feeling that, if they die, all those poor little creatures are safe for evermore. We have omitted mentioning one other convent, called *Strasnoi* (or the Passion), which is doubly interesting to us as containing a duplicate of the famous picture of the Madonna venerated in the Redemptorist Church in Rome, under the title of *Perpetuo Soccorso*. This picture was brought from Nijni Novgorod, so many miracles having been wrought at the shrine, that the Czar Michael ordered it to be transported to the capital, where his son built a beautiful church in its honour, with a large convent adjoining, which now contains upwards of 300 sisters. There is a very fine crucifix in this church, the size of life, before which the people are continually praying, and a multitude of beautiful reliquaries and other sacred objects, the gifts of those who have obtained graces at this sanctuary. The nuns were most courteous and kind, looking upon Catholics as "one with them."

One of the most interesting antiquities of Moscow is the old palace of the Boyards Romanoff, which has been carefully restored exactly as it was before the Romanoffs became Czars. It is a most curious house, with narrow staircases, low doors, quaint old furniture, and beautiful old plate and china. In one room below are all the things the first Czar, Michael Romanoff, had as a baby; his cradle, his pap-boat, his clothes, even his dolls!

There is a very interesting historical museum in the Red Square, containing all the products of Russia from the earliest times; and another museum, called Roumantsiov, which in addition to pictures and statues, contains a sort of covered gallery full of peasant men and women, in coloured wax, the size of life, dressed in the various and beautiful costumes of every province in European and Asiatic Russia. We can commend this gallery to the givers of fancy-dress balls, so beautiful and so varied are the different native dresses!

There is also a picture-gallery, called *Trétiakoff*, containing some most interesting modern pictures, and especially some masterpieces of Répine, the great portrait painter, and of Kouindji, the landscape painter. It was a kind of revelation to some of us to find in this distant city a perfection of modern art not to be equalled either here or in Paris. The portraits especially are quite wonderful, both in the way of likeness and

vividness of expression ; and although the historical subjects chosen by Répine are generally of a sad, and even startling character, it is impossible not to be struck with them, and not to carry away an impression which no time will efface. The death of the son of Ivan the Terrible, the scene in prison of the Regent Sophia, the unexpected return of the father of a family from Siberia to his amazed wife and children, the interior of a Siberian hut with the exile, Prince Menschikoff, surrounded with his beautiful daughters, a Catholic lady chained to a hurdle, dragged off to prison in the midst of a weeping and sympathising crowd—these and many others positively haunt the mind of those who have studied them from their extraordinary reality and power.

There are two beautiful parks outside the town of Moscow, one called Sokolniki, which was formerly a primeval forest, reserved for the falcon hunting of the Emperors, but now opened to the public. Beautiful drives have been made through every part of it, and the prettiest châteaux and villas have been erected on both sides, which are filled in summer with the rich Moscow merchants and their families. The fir-trees are magnificent and the turf is beautifully kept. The other park, on the opposite side of the town, is called Pétrovsky, which is more fashionable, but smaller, and with no pine woods. There is an Imperial villa at one end, where the Czars rest before entering the city, and where everything is now being prepared for the bride of the Césarevitch.

But the most beautiful view of Moscow is to be obtained from what is called "The Mount of the Sparrows," which is a rising ground three or four miles from the town on the banks of the river Moskva, which are richly wooded, and from whence the Kremlin, the Convent of the Virgins, the villa of the Grand Duke Sergius, and other beautiful buildings are seen to perfection. This is a very favourite resort of all the people on Sundays and feast-days. There is an excellent café, with a terrace commanding the whole view and a garden below for every kind of sport. There is only one drawback to a traveller's enjoyment of all these parks and gardens, and that is the terrible roads which must be passed to get to them. If in the country there are no stones, and no means of making a track which is not knee-deep in bog and water at the slightest

rain, in the towns the streets are paved with irregular round pebbles which simply shake you to death ; and by the time you arrive at the parks, you are so weary of the half-hour's previous jolting, and the prospect of another half-hour's misery to return to your hotel, that the pleasure is quite spoiled. It seems simply incredible that in such a rich country as Russia and in its principal city, no effort should be made to remedy this state of things, except by one or two yards of asphalté opposite certain houses.

The principal hotel is called the Slaviansky Bazaar, and has a magnificent restaurant where the food is excellent and well served.

We have lingered so long in this true capital of the vast Russian Empire as to leave us little space for its rival city, St. Petersburg, which is now the residence of the Court and of the Government. The quick train goes from Moscow to St. Petersburg in twenty-four hours, and the line runs through a richly-wooded country, which is a great contrast to the enormous stretches of cornfields in the south. But St. Petersburg is a cosmopolitan city, with none of the beauty or the characteristics of Moscow. It is like Berlin, or any other large town, and is therefore singularly uninteresting. The only picturesque part is towards what are called the "islands," where there are pine woods and pretty villas, with beautiful views over the Gulf of Finland.

The Cathedral of St. Isaac is a magnificent building ; but so dark and heavy, with its huge granite pillars and bronze doors and columns, that the impression left on one's mind is gloomy in the extreme. Far more beautiful is the older Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, close to the famous fortress and prison where so many of our Catholic bishops and priests have been sent on their way to Siberia. In this cathedral, since Peter the Great, all the Emperors and Empresses have been buried. It was touching to see the devotion of the people for the tomb of the late Emperor, which is always brilliantly lighted and surrounded by kneeling figures.

A little further on, in the Alexander Park, is the Cathedral of the Trinity, built of wood by Peter the Great in 1703 ; and a still more interesting memorial of this Emperor is his own house close by, in the little garden on the bank of the

Neva. From this wooden cottage, which is only one story high, he directed the construction of the whole city. There are a hall and two tiny rooms. In the hall is the boat which was built by Peter himself, and which is called the Father of the Russian fleet. The furniture of the sitting-room is also his own workmanship, and includes a cabinet and a chair in which he always sat. His bedroom has been turned into a chapel, is brilliantly lighted, and contains a miraculous picture of Our Lord as Redeemer, beautifully framed, which the Emperor always carried with him. Continual services go on in this chapel, which, small as it is, is always crowded.

The Winter Palace at St. Petersburg is a vast building containing the usual large reception-rooms, and some very interesting pictures of different battles, with excellent portraits of eminent generals, including Prince Michael Woronzow, Prince Bariatinsky and many others. But the most interesting part of the palace is the little room of the Emperor Nicholas I. in which he died, and which has been left exactly in the same state as the day on which he expired. It is more than severe in its simplicity, a hard little camp-bed, an old patched pair of slippers, a worn hair-brush and comb, his uniform, sword, and helmet—all speaking of his soldier-like tastes, and the way he despised all luxury, and even ordinary comforts. Very nearly as simple is the room of the late Emperor Alexander, with the little iron bed in a niche, where he was laid after his horrible assassination; the only ornament in it being the usual holy pictures in the angle of the wall.

But the thing which it is worth coming to St. Petersburg to see is the Gallery, and the treasures of the "Hermitage," which adjoins the Winter Palace. Of the pictures, there are masterpieces of every school and of every country in Europe, and they are beautifully arranged according to the nationality of each. Italy is represented by some exquisite works of Raphael, painted by him in the earlier part of his life and therefore purer than many of his later subjects. Luini, Leonardo da Vinci, Correggio, Andrea del Sarto, Sebastian del Piombo, Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and countless others are all represented by specimens of their best works. It is the same with the Spanish school, which, in its pictures by Velasquez and Murillo, rival the galleries of Madrid and Seville. The German

collection is poor, but the Dutch and Flemish schools are nowhere to be seen to such advantage. There are real masterpieces of Rembrandt, Vandyck, Tenyers, Van Eyck, Wouverman, Gherard Dow, Ostade, Van der Helst, and countless others. In fact, it is a more complete collection than any other in Europe.

But in what is called the Old Hermitage of the Empress Catherine II., there are treasures and riches such as do not exist anywhere else; and one walks through almost miles of galleries, on each side of which are glass cases, containing the most curious and beautiful objects in gold, silver, crystal, enamel, and jewels which Asia and Europe could produce. One thing only we will mention, as it was made in London; and that is a bird-clock bought by Potemkin and given by him to the Empress Catherine. When it is wound up, the peacock in the middle turns the wheels, the cock crows and the owl opens and shuts her eyes while she strikes the hour. There are also exquisite miniatures and enamel boxes mounted in priceless jewels, which it would take whole days to describe.

The treasure-room in the Winter Palace is carefully guarded and contains all the Crown jewels, including the second eye of the Golden Lion in the Great Mogul's Palace at Delhi, the first being in the possession of the Queen of England and called the Kohinoor. It was presented to the Empress Catherine by Count Orloff, and is the largest diamond in the world. There are two chapels in the Winter Palace, in one of which is a very ancient picture of the Blessed Virgin, said to be painted by St. Luke and brought from Malta. Also the hand of St. John the Baptist and the arm of St. Mary Magdalene, given to the Emperor Paul I. as Grand Master of the Order of Malta, both being in beautiful reliquaries.

There are two or three Catholic churches in St. Petersburg, the principal of which is that of St. Catherine, which was formerly the Jesuit church; but since the expulsion of that religious order, it is served by the Dominicans. It is a large church, but not sufficient for the population, there being upwards of 20,000 Catholics in the city. There are good schools for both boys and girls adjoining the convent, and sermons are preached in French and German as well as in Polish. There is also a very beautiful little Church of the

Order of Malta, which, curiously enough, is situated in the midst of one of the Government offices and is supported entirely by the Czar, in memory of the Emperor who was a Knight of the Order. The third church is in the Episcopal Palace, and looked upon as the Cathedral, the Archbishop (who bears the title of *Mohilew*) officiating there as well as the students of his Ecclesiastical Seminary. Besides the seminary, there is an Ecclesiastical Academy, where students are sent from all the Catholic dioceses in Russia, and where there are admirable professors, the men being trained most carefully in the higher studies required for the priesthood.

But the position of a Catholic priest in Russia is one of extreme difficulty. Every sort of odious formality is required of him: any attempt at proselytism is watched, and, if successful, punished with the utmost severity. In the case of mixed marriages, the children are forced to be brought up in the religion of the State, and priests cannot go from one village to another without obtaining a permission which is often refused. All this is the more extraordinary because every thinking man and woman in Russia desires a renewal of union with the Holy See, while the mass of the people are totally ignorant of the fact that any separation exists. A Catholic is welcomed by them as being one of themselves, while a Protestant is looked upon with mistrust and dislike.

"Who then," writes Padre Vanutelli, "is the head of the Russian Church? There is none, for the Emperor is only so nominally; and the real power rests with the Holy Synod which was established when Russia threw off the Greek yoke of the Patriarch of Constantinople."

This Holy Synod has a President, and this man at the present moment is a layman, with no ecclesiastical character of any sort, wearing a military uniform, and who, as Procurator, rules the whole Church in Russia with a rod of iron. "Thus," continues Padre Vanutelli, "all the ecclesiastical hierarchy is now in the hands of the secular government and depends solely on the civil power."

"This servitude of the Church is incompatible with her spiritual dignity, with her divine origin, and with any idea of a universal mission," writes the Patriot Solovief, and another eminent Russian writer adds:

Our Church, in her government, is only a kind of bureaucracy which pretends to feed the flock of Jesus Christ, but maintains all the cruel and arbitrary proceedings and official falseness which seem to be inherent in our political administration.

As long as this state of things lasts, there is no hope of any union or of any diminution of the persecution of those who will not follow the "Orthodox" or Russian Church. But even Presidents of Holy Synods are not immortal, and as the present dissatisfaction at the state of things is spreading among all the higher and thinking classes, whether lay or clerical, we must hope and pray that a change may come and that speedily. A very distinguished man, writing the other day on this subject, says :

The whole system of government in Russia at present is the same as that towards the fall of the Roman Empire. Few cared for the Emperor or the gods, but only that their relatives should get a good Proconsulate in Asia or Africa, and, having got rich, return to Rome and enjoy life. This, at present, is the state of the class who rule our empire; for the Emperor, who is a good man, is entirely deceived by his councillors and knows nothing of what is really going on. The *Czynowaski* or officials care for nought but how best and quickest to enrich themselves and their families; and justice and right have ceased to exist.

Let us not, however, despair of the future. If the "powers of darkness" be indeed keeping this vast land in their clutches, we know that there is One who is stronger than they and who in His own good time will bring about the deliverance of His faithful people.

MARY ELISABETH HERBERT.

NOTE.—Since this article was written, a great sorrow has fallen upon the Russians in the death of their beloved Emperor Alexander III. The feeling of affection for him was deep and wide-spread, and even the Poles assert that whenever he knew the truth, he acted fairly and justly towards them.

May the enormous number of requiem masses and prayers offered up for him hasten his eternal bliss, and convince our Protestant countrymen and women of the necessity of such sacrifice for their beloved dead.

ART. VI—AN ELECTORAL EXPERIMENT IN BELGIUM.

THE elections of last October in Belgium opened a fresh chapter in the constitutional history of that country. They were watched with much interest, even beyond the narrow limits of Belgium. A new system of manhood suffrage was on its trial—a system which sought to temper the force of numbers by the conservative influences of age, wealth, and education. It was a curious electoral experiment well worthy of attention.

For sixty-one years, Belgium had thriven fairly well under its Constitution framed in 1830. That Constitution was the result of the united efforts of Catholics and Liberals who had just then shaken off the Dutch yoke. This union subsisted until 1840, thanks largely to the political tact of Leopold, first King of the Belgians. But in the Liberal ranks an evolution was taking place towards the extreme left of their party—towards men who, mouthpieces of the Masonic lodges, proclaimed that the Church was their enemy. By 1857, these men had elbowed out of their ranks all who held that a man might be a good Liberal and a sincere Catholic. Some, like M. Lebeau, who had so long been a Liberal Minister and Leader in the early years of Leopold I.'s reign, retired from active politics. Others departed to the Catholic camp, saying with Adolphe Dechamps, one of Belgium's ablest politicians, and brother to the late Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin: "The word Liberal has got into bad hands; it has stood for bad things; we can have nothing more to do with it. Our own name of Catholic must suffice for us; we can have no better." And so two camps were formed—the Catholic and the Liberal.

In treating of Belgian politics, it is impossible not to apply the names of Catholic and Liberal to the two divisions of parties in Belgium. It may be as well, to avoid confusion, to explain the sense in which these names are used for political purposes in Belgium. Under the name of Catholics—their opponents often call them Clericals—are ranged men of widely

different views on purely political questions. In many towns the Catholics call themselves Conservatives. Some are protectionists, others free-traders. Elsewhere they describe themselves as Christian democrats. At Antwerp they are "Meetinguistes," that is supporters of the policy of the "Meeting," an association formed to combat the ever-swelling growth of military expenditure. At Brussels, some call themselves Independents, others simply working men's representatives. Some would have military service binding all personally, save of course the clergy; others would have an army raised by voluntary enlistment. But on one point all agree, and that is to uphold the faith of their fathers against all comers.

The attacks against the faith have come entirely from the party that has taken to itself the name of Liberal. It comprises within its ranks, Doctrinaires, Radicals of all shades, and Progressists, and is more or less allied with the Socialists. As its chief aim has been to attack the Church, a better name for it would be that with which the people christened it during the fight, sixteen years ago, over the School question, that of "Gueux," for assuredly the Belgian Liberal of these later times is descended from the "Beggars" of Alva's age. Such is the party which first came to the front under the able leadership of M. Frère-Orban in 1857, to the cry of "Down with convents." The high tide of their power was reached in 1878, when the Liberals took office as a *ministère de combat*—the description is theirs—and inaugurated a Kulturkampf that lasted until 1884. Then amid the joy of a nation Catholic to the backbone, these petty imitations of Bismarck fell. They bequeathed three things to their Catholic successors—an impoverished exchequer, a costly system of godless education, and a desire for a reform of the electoral system. In ten years, the Catholics have filled the exchequer to overflowing while lessening taxation: they have created a cheap system of education in which religion has its part; and now they have reformed the electoral code.

This reform was not a matter of practical politics until the Liberals when last in office changed the incidence of taxation so as to deprive more than 65,000 electors of their Parliamentary votes. These were chiefly rural and Catholic electors. At that time, Article 47 of the Belgian Constitution

ordained: "The Chamber of Representatives is composed of deputies elected directly by citizens who pay the amount of taxes fixed by the Electoral Law which amount may not exceed 100 florins nor be less than twenty florins in direct taxation." An unscrupulous Government by clever manipulation of the fiscal laws had no difficulty in creating new and in disfranchising old electors for its own benefit. The wholesale manner in which the Liberals did this made men wish that taxation were not the shifting basis of the franchise. Even so moderate and cautious a statesman as the late M. Malou, speaking in June 1881, declared that manhood suffrage was to be preferred to the then existing state of things in electoral matters. Belgium too, it was felt, was behind the times with its narrow franchise. While France had more than 26, Switzerland 24, Germany 20, and England 12 electors to every hundred of its population, Belgium had barely two per cent., although the qualification had been lowered to the lowest limit allowed by the Constitution. Thirteen years ago, M. Malou estimated that of 1,700,000 male Belgians of age, only 116,000 enjoyed the Parliamentary franchise. Even last year when the taxes had been distributed more fairly, there were only 135,000 electors in a population of six millions and a quarter.

It became daily more and more evident that the electoral laws needed reform and the Constitution revision. But on what lines was its Forty-seventh Article to be revised? Conservatives were for keeping taxation as the basis of the franchise, but the qualification lowered to a merely nominal amount of five francs. This, it was reckoned, would bring up the number of electors to six or seven hundred thousand. The Liberal leader, M. Frère-Orban, would have supplemented this by the system he had introduced into the municipal franchise—that of electors who could show they had received at least an elementary education. Others preferred household suffrage; others a system for the representation of interests; others one for the representation of minorities. The Radicals and Socialists alone clamoured for manhood suffrage pure and simple. The majority of Belgians were opposed to it, all at least who had any stake in the country, or had the interests of religion at heart. They saw how manhood suffrage worked

in France and Germany, and did not envy their neighbours in their enjoyment of it. Such then was the state of public opinion in Belgium down to 1890.

In September of that year a Workmen's Congress was held at Brussels, at which resolutions were passed demanding manhood suffrage and authorising the leaders of the workmen's party to decree strikes, if needful, to obtain it. Thus backed, M. Paul Janson, the Radical member for Brussels, on November 27, 1890, renewed a motion, which had been rejected three years earlier, for a revision of the Constitution and especially of Article Forty-seven.

In reply to M. Janson's motion, M. Beernaert, the Catholic Prime Minister, rose, and to the surprise of all proposed that the motion should be considered. This the Chamber of Representatives unanimously voted by 118 members present. Why did M. Beernaert agree to take the motion into consideration? He is a sagacious politician. He knew that many of his opponents were opposed to any reform, but were ready enough to use any proposal for a revision against the majority. Could he force them to show their dislike to M. Janson's proposal, they would share with the majority the odium of rejecting it. Perhaps he saw that revision at no distant date was inevitable, and judged that it would be better for the Catholics to direct it while they had a substantial majority than to leave it to the Liberals to accomplish when they should be again in office. The immediate result of M. Janson's motion was to place the question of reform before the country, and the country at once took it up warmly. Newspapers debated it hotly; it was the theme of every speaker in every political gathering, the country was flooded with pamphlets on the subject. The Chamber, in accordance with its rules, divided into six sections to consider the motion. In each section it was warmly and on the whole unfavourably debated. There was a deal of clever fencing between the leaders of groups. In the end the motion was lost in committee by 51 votes against 36, with 17 abstentions. The country was disappointed at this negative result. The Central Section, composed of delegates from the six sections, next took up the question. It invited the Government to set forth its views which it did early in April 1891. Outside the Chambers, the

noisier part of the public was growing impatient at Parliamentary delays. Nevertheless it was not until November that M. De Smet de Naeyer, member for Ghent, now Minister of Finance, presented his long report—as able a document as ever was laid before any Parliament. After reviewing the various electoral systems in vogue in other countries, it recommended that all male Belgians above the age of twenty-five, occupants of a house not below a certain rental value, should be admitted to the franchise. M. Frère on behalf of the Liberals, added a note, adhering to his old views.

On February 2, 1892, the Chamber took into consideration the report and various proposals for revision of the Constitution. In accordance with the terms of the Constitution, it had to decide which of its articles were to be made subject to revision. The proposal to give the Crown a Royal referendum, that is power to appeal from Parliament directly to the people, was rejected. The Chamber and Senate having settled what articles should be subject to revision by the new Parliament at once dissolved. The general elections in June made no substantial change in the strength of parties. The Chamber of Representatives counted 93 Catholics and 59 Liberals; the Senate 49 Catholics against 30 Liberals. No party could command the two-thirds of the votes without which no article of the Constitution could be legally revised. The revision could therefore only be carried by coalitions and compromise. After modifying its rules of procedure to suit the circumstances, each House nominated a commission of twenty-one of its members to examine the different proposals for revision, and then adjourned.

A Royal speech opened the ordinary session in November. It was occupied in examining the various schemes for revision, and notably those for revising Article Forty-seven of the Constitution. Manhood suffrage pure and simple found no advocates in Parliament. M. Nothomb, a Catholic member, and MM. Janson and Féron, two Radicals, were in its favour under certain restrictions, at the age of twenty-five. M. Frère clung to a money and educational qualification for the franchise. M. Beernaert proposed in the name of his Government to give the franchise to all males of twenty-five years of age who owned land, or inhabited houses of at least a certain annual

value, or who held certificates of having had a college or university education, or who could pass an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic. The vote was to be obligatory ; it was to be considered a duty as well as a right.

None of these schemes commanded the two-thirds majority requisite. The debates went on until the eve of the Easter holidays of 1893. Then there was a general massacre and there was nothing left for the Chamber to debate. Revision had come to a dead-lock.

It was a solemn moment in the history of the little country. While the people's representatives sat in Parliament, staring blankly at one another, unable to find a formula for a franchise at once Democratic and Conservative, the Socialists, taking advantage of the situation, were stirring the people to revolt, and its first murmurs could be heard as distant thunder before the storm. The Civic Guards with the gendarmes and police were called on to keep order in the streets. Two classes of the army reserves were ordered to rejoin the colours to strengthen the various garrisons held in readiness to march at the first signal. Thanks to these energetic measures of the Government, mobocracy failed in its designs. Here and there disturbances took place ; at Mons the miners on strike came into collision with the Civic Guards who had to use their firearms with fatal effect. M. Woeste, the Catholic leader, and M. Buisson, the Liberal Burgomaster of Brussels, were the objects of personal aggression. The head Council of the Socialists proclaimed a general strike ; the miners came out in a body. At Ghent 20,000 weavers struck ; the red flag of Socialism was paraded in almost every town. How far these demonstrations hastened Parliament out of its deadlock it is difficult to say. The Government certainly showed itself firm at this critical moment, for not only did it take military precautions, but struck at the root of the evil by arresting M. Picard, a lawyer of Socialist proclivities who by speech and pen had excited the mob to anger. It also closed some of the Socialist haunts for a time. Just then M. A. Nyssens, member for Louvain, opportunely proposed to Parliament a new scheme for the revision of Article Forty-seven. How far the Government and the extreme Left inspired its author cannot be known until someone reveals the secret history of the affair. Anyhow the

Government accepted M. Nyssens' scheme, and the Radical Left promised to support the Government with thirty-four votes and to stop further agitation outside Parliament. Finally, after the Government had made their adoption a Cabinet question, the Nyssens' proposals were adopted by 119 votes against 14 and 12 abstentions. Ten days later, the Senate passed them by 52 votes against 1 and 14 abstentions. Manhood suffrage with certain guarantees attached to it had won its place in Belgian legislation. Some less important points of the Constitution were next revised, and the new Constitution was promulgated by Royal Decrees on September 7, 1893.

Article Forty-seven of the Belgian Constitution as amended by M. Nyssens' scheme, gives a vote for the election of members to the Chamber of Representatives to every male citizen above the age of twenty-five, who has resided for not less than a year in the same commune, and who is not otherwise disqualified by law. A supplementary vote is given, first, to every such citizen over thirty-five, who is married or a widower with legitimate offspring, paying to the State at least five francs a-year in house taxes, unless, by his profession, he is exempted from such tax. Secondly, a supplementary vote is given to every citizen above twenty-five years of age, owner of property rated at not less than £80 a-year, or who holds Belgian *rentes*, or has a sum in the Post Office Savings Bank, yielding an income of not less than £4 per annum. Thirdly, two supplementary votes are given to citizens above twenty-five, who hold certificates showing they have received college or university education, or hold, or have held, positions presupposing such an education. These positions are defined by the new electoral law. In this category of electors come Cabinet Ministers, members and officers of Parliament; governors and secretaries of provinces; diplomatic officials and consuls; members of the royal academies; magistrates, judges, and clerks of the chief law-courts; barristers, notaries, doctors, veterinary surgeons and apothecaries; directors and secretaries of Government departments, museums and archives; professors of universities, military, engineering, and other colleges; professors in seminaries and school inspectors; masters of elementary schools who have taught for not less than five years; army and navy officers; all Catholic priests and such ministers of other religions as are

paid by the State. No elector has a right to more than three votes. The voting is secret and obligatory, but, of course, an elector may give a blank vote.

The Senate is elected by the same electors as the Chamber, except that its electors must be over thirty. Moreover, the Councils of the nine Belgian provinces elect twenty-six Senators, who are not required to have, as their fellow Senators, any property qualification. A Senator must be forty years of age at least; the king's sons, however, or, in default of such, princes of the royal blood become Senators by right at eighteen, but may only vote as such when twenty-five years of age. The property qualification where required of a Senator is either that he pay 1,200 francs in direct taxation, or enjoy real property yielding an annual income of 12,000 francs. Senators are unpaid, but members of the Lower House receive £160 a-year, and a free pass on the railway between their place of residence and that where Parliament meets.

Such, in its chief features, was the new system under which more than 1,035,000 Belgians voted. The number of electors had been decupled; how would the new electors vote? It was a leap in the dark; the wisest dared not predict. The results have certainly been surprising in four respects. First, in the unprecedented majorities which the Catholics secured at the polls and in Parliament. In the second ballot at Brussels, for instance, in the city which has been called "the head and heart of Liberalism," the Catholics headed the poll with 107,515 votes, a majority of nearly 12,000 over the Radico-Liberal coalition. Here, as elsewhere, the Catholics largely increased their forces in the week between the first and second ballots. The same has happened at the more recent elections for the provincial councils. Socialism is driving into the Catholic ranks all who have anything to lose. Secondly, the appearance in Parliament of thirty-four Socialist members, of whom until now there was not one in either House. It is from the mining and industrial districts of the Walloon country that the Socialist representatives have been returned. Thirdly, the wiping out of the old Liberal and Radical groups. In the Senate the Liberals hold now only twenty-four seats to fifty-two secured by the Catholics. To these must be added the twenty-six Senators elected by the provincial councils.

Of these nineteen are Catholics, five Liberals, and two Socialists. In the Chamber the Catholics hold one hundred and four seats, the Liberals only fourteen, while the remainder are filled by Socialists. The two Radical leaders, MM. Janson and Féron, who pressed on the revision so energetically, have been victims of their work. The electors of Brussels have rejected them. M. Frère-Orban and the only three of his old Ministry, which for six years from 1878 so bitterly persecuted the Church in Belgium, who sought re-election failed to secure their seats. Of them and their friends we may say with Carlyle :—"They are all gone ; sunk,—down, down, with the tumult they made ; and the rolling and the trampling of ever new generations passes over them." Fourthly and lastly, we must note the solid manner in which all the Flemish-speaking parts of Belgium voted for Catholics, as also such large towns as Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent. The difference between the Walloon and Flemish parts is striking. There are many causes to explain it. We may mention two. In the Walloon country, the capitalists and clergy have not gone out to the masses as the priests and landowners have in Flanders. And again, the struggle for life, though it be hard enough among the Flemish peasants, has not that passionate fierceness which it assumes around the glaring furnaces and in the deep mines of the Walloon country.

It is there then that "the new generations" of Socialists are trampling over the corpses of their parents—the anti-Catholic Liberalism of yore. They have already shown their strength. In twenty-two electoral districts out of forty-one, they ran candidates who polled 335,277 votes. It is too soon to judge of the characters and capacities of the men Socialism has sent to the Belgian Parliament. The passions of the electoral period have not died away sufficiently to judge of men of whom very hard things have been written. Of their doctrines we may better speak. The Belgian Socialists denominate their doctrines by a term of which they claim the invention—that of Collectivism. The term is explained by a resolution passed at the Belgian Socialist Congress of last July :—"All wealth and all the means of production are the common inheritance of mankind." Under this system, men should enjoy all things in common. For the common good the

State should expropriate—as it now does land for railways and forts and barracks—all wealth and all the means, natural and artificial, for its production. The ideal of this Collectivism is to be found in the constitution of the island of Utopia; its practice only—to a certain extent—among men who have made vows of poverty and obedience. Such are the economic principles of Belgian Socialism. But, as it knows well, their realisation is impossible without injustice, and as the chief, and we might almost add—since the gendarme, the criminal courts, and the code are little in respect nowadays—the only defender of justice is the Church, the Belgian Socialists, not less than their Liberal precursors are avowed enemies of all religion. A glance through the columns of their organs the *Vooruit* and the *Peuple* would convince the most sceptical on this point. Therefore, as the Bishop of Liège has pointed out, in his “Pastoral” of January 14th, 1894, on the Social question, no alliance is possible between Catholics and Socialists. In that document, which has had the warmest approval of the Holy See, his lordship wrote :—

Another principle of Christian prudence, which we must put in practice towards the enemies of God, of religion, and of society, is the *ne ave eis dixeritis* of St. John. No compromise, no alliance with the Socialists. If they seek some things which are lawful, we need not therefore abstain from seeking them likewise; but we must let them go their way while we pursue ours. Our workmen can only suffer by contact with them.

Parliament no doubt can do much to combat Socialism. It can help the Government in keeping order in the streets, it can frame laws to lighten the burdens of the working classes, it can give them more comfortable dwellings, it can and must pass a law which will keep the municipal life of the country from being at the mercy of the Socialists. If the town-halls of Brussels or Antwerp, with all the influence, wealth, and authority they command, were to see the red flag of Socialism floating from their steeples, the future of Belgium would be imperilled. But it is outside Parliament the best work must be and is being done. The Catholics of Belgium feel that a great work has been cast on their shoulders. With God's grace they will carry it through to success. In the oldest and most picturesque part of the old city of Bruges may be seen

a row of ancient edifices recently restored. It is the habitation of the Guild of *Ambachten* or Trades. The buildings are the gift of one of the Senators of the city, and are the trysting-place of masters and men where they may meet to settle their affairs—where with recreation they may combine business, where the labourer may hear of work, where he may put away his hard-earned savings in a popular bank, where he may get help to buy his needful tools, and where by useful lectures and popular journals he may learn sound doctrines and obtain useful knowledge. It is by the multiplication of such institutes, and actively helping in their working, that Belgian Catholics seek at Bruges and throughout their land to solve the social problem. The day is perhaps not distant when the masses will turn to the Catholics, and judge them by their fruits. Thousands who only yesterday voted for the Socialists were led astray by lying words. At Charleroi they were told if only they returned Socialists to Parliament, there would be on Martinmas Day a division of property. And this many—notably the miners' wives—believed. The Belgians, whether Walloons or Flemings, are a practical people. If the Socialists do not give them a slice, let alone the whole cake they have promised, their dupes will seek and find a more profitable course. And the electoral experiment may prove a blessing in having forced Socialism to the front, and, in so doing, opened the eyes of many to its false promises while stimulating Catholics, whether in Parliament or outside it, to renew their exertions on the lines laid down in the deathless Encyclical *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII.

WILFRID C. ROBINSON.

ART. VII.—MRS. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN.

A Memoir of Mrs. Augustus Craven. By MARIA CATHERINE BISHOP. London: Bentley. 1894.

THE middle of this century has produced two literary masterpieces whose “living record” dedicated to love made immortal by death:

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive.

Each was written when the feeling that inspired it had long been haloed in the perspective of memory, and each earned for a private sorrow the participation of a sympathising world.

But with this broad and general resemblance of motive, the parallel between “In Memoriam” and the “Récit d’une Sœur” comes to an end. For the half-despairing interrogation of nature and self, which is the key-note of the Laureate’s dirge, is divided from the religious conviction irradiating Mrs. Craven’s narrative, by all the gulf that lies between living faith and tentative speculation. No greater contrast could be found than that between the attitude of mind expressed in the familiar quatrain:

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope;

and that conveyed in such passages as the following; which we quote from Mrs. Craven’s journal in the work before us:

Yesterday and to-day are days for me of dear remembrance, of sad and sweet thoughts which lie deep in my life—thoughts which are ineffaceable and always present as on the first day. Time is but a little thing, even on earth; the past is still so living, and the longest future so short that our span of life seems in reality but the dream to which it is so often compared, in which a long series of events takes place during a second. When I return in thought to that time of Albert’s and Alexandrine’s love, which seems so living and so near to me, the pain of uncertainty and waiting, and the separations which then appeared so cruel and of such consequence; when I recall their marriage and the flash

of happiness, followed by the gloomy days of their mortal suffering, which altered all, and the new life of Alexandrine after Albert's death, so interwoven in its reminiscence and aspiration that her lost joys were less often subjects of our conversation than those she looked for; all that passed more quickly than human prevision could have foreseen, and all is passed—finished; and already they have been reunited in heaven for a longer time than their love on earth lasted. More than that, they have taken possession of the ineffable things hidden even from our imagination, as well as of the reality of that which to us on earth seems happiness.

Beauty, youth, love, union, poetry, divine harmonies, delights of which ours are but shapeless promises—all that is theirs for ever in God; that is to say, realised beyond all that is given to us to understand.

Here indeed “the larger hope” is trusted, but not “faintly,” nor is there any hint of the wailing undertone in which the friend of Arthur Hallam cries:

O life as futile, then as frail!

O for thy voice to soothe and bless!

What hope of answer or redress?

Behind the veil, behind the veil.

The publication of the “*Récit d'une Sœur*” marks an epoch in literary history, not from its having been the pioneer of a school, since it was and remains the sole type of its class, unique and inimitable, but because of that very aloofness from the surrounding mass of intellectual production which isolates and exalts it on a pedestal apart. Belonging neither to the category of religious biography, theological speculation, or romantic literature, it yet combined some of the features of each, and came upon a world in which every form of mental utterance seemed exhausted, as the revelation of a new vehicle of expression. It required for its production a singular combination of circumstances and characters, a circle in which all the graces of the great world were combined with an interior life of almost mystical contemplation, and intense family affections with the highest gifts of birth and breeding, while its supreme note is struck by love, sublimated by religion and self-sacrifice. If so rare and exquisite were the materials blended in its composition, no less so were the qualities indispensable in her on whom devolved the task of selecting and collating them. That they were found in the subject of this memoir was proved by the world's acceptance of a work whose whole tenor is in contradiction to its ordinary canons of taste.

The fine flower of nineteenth-century womanhood, before its intellectual culture had been contaminated by that revolt against earlier ideals which threatens to convert it from a crown into a curse, she stood in all things at the parting of the ways, inheriting with the still lingering social prestige of the *ancien régime*, those wider views and enlarged horizons of thought afforded by the extended platform of the modern world. *Grande dame* to the tips of her fingers, she was in nothing more so than in the transparent simplicity conferred by superfine quality of inmost fibre of soul, which is the one inalienable birthright of an ancient race. Such absolute self-revelation as hers is rendered tolerable only by qualities of mind, inherited and transmitted through generations of culture, and incapable of forced production on the coarser soil of a *parvenu* nature. The difference can be illustrated by the example of another Frenchwoman, not less intellectually gifted, and equally capable of sounding the depths of her own nature. Madame Roland, the *bourgeoise* heroine of the Revolution, and saturated to the core with the essentially *bourgeois* vice of envy of those superior to her in station, had, under her classical drapery, a nature as crude as that of a fishwife, revealed with corresponding crudity in the underbred unreserve of her journal. The type of that middle class, whose standards in literature, art, and morality, rule modern France, she was as far from the homely dignity of rusticity on the one hand, as she was on the other from the courtly refinement of which the circle depicted in the "Récit d'une Sœur" is the highest exponent.

To the story told in that inimitable selection of family records, the two volumes now published by Mrs. Bishop are a necessary supplement. The one figure but dimly shadowed in the group is that of her whose hand wove the threads of the narrative together with such loving skill; for that "Pauline" who is the recipient of so many confidences, the consoler of so many sorrows, leaves her own individuality as much as possible in the background of the combined picture. The time has now come for filling in this blank, and giving its completion to the "Récit d'une Sœur" by a connected memoir of its author. Mrs. Bishop is qualified for the task, not merely by her own recognised literary ability, but by close and intimate friendship with the subject of her memoir, as well as by the possession, in

the shape of a large number of letters addressed to herself, of a considerable portion of the materials for it. She has wisely chosen Mrs. Craven's own method of biography, and allowed her mainly to tell her own story in her diary and correspondence, skilfully binding the disjointed fragments together by short interpolations of connecting narrative. The few passages in which she gives expression to her personal views by way of unnecessary comment, are written with the grace and literary acumen we should expect from her practised pen. Her self-suppression is therefore due to her evident wish to give her memoir as much as possible the autobiographical form which lends it a more special and superlative value.

It is mainly intended, as she states in her preface, to give a sketch of Mrs. Craven's life as it was known to English people, pending the appearance of a French biography in which its other aspects will be treated with greater amplitude of detail. Her private journal, from which many passages are translated, was lent by her niece the Duchesse d'Ursel, and her friend the Comtesse François de Grünne, by whose permission the extracts appear. In addition to the letters addressed to Mrs. Bishop herself, she has inserted many written to Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff and other friends, with whom Mrs. Craven corresponded in their own language. The materials thus rendered available are ample, and as her strong intellect and character impressed themselves on all her utterances, they furnish a clear and definite presentment of her striking personality.

Despite her French nationality, the accident of her parents' residence gives England some right to claim her as a citizen, for Pauline Marie Armande Aglae Ferron de la Ferronays was born on April 12th, 1808, in the heart of the busy hive of London, at 36 Manchester Street, and was described in her marriage certificate as an Englishwoman. The chance of birth foreshadowed the great love she bore this country, the dearest to her of the three in which she always declared she felt equally at home—France, Italy and England. With her father's Breton blood she inherited the Celtic warmth of nature which gave its peculiar charm to her character, and to the same source may be traced the strong religious convictions which form the inheritance of the old Armorican stock.

The life thus begun in exile was one of kaleidoscopic

variety and vicissitude, brilliant, in its opening years, with social distinction combined with ideal home interests, and overclouded towards its end by misfortunes accumulating on Mrs. Craven's head with every added year. Under these manifold trials her submission was unfaltering, and they only helped to develop the beauty of a character tempered like annealed steel in the extremes of prosperity and adversity.

Of the eleven children born to Count and Countess de la Ferronays, Pauline, the second, was junior to her eldest brother Charles by many years. Her parents lived to see seven of their children, three sons and four daughters, reach maturity, and share the interests and pleasures of their father's public and diplomatic career under the Restoration. His appointment as Ambassador at St. Petersburg in 1819 gave the Russian capital a conspicuous place in Pauline's early recollections, and here it was that she gained the childish but lasting friendship of that Mdlle. Alopeus, who, as the "Alexandrine" of the "Récit," was later to play so prominent a part in the family story. The eight years during which M. de la Ferronays held this post covered the transition from childhood to girlhood of his eldest daughter, and his nomination as Foreign Minister under Charles X. in 1827, transferred her at nineteen to an equally brilliant sphere in Paris.

When Pauline was first launched on the society of the Restoration [says Mrs. Bishop] it was in its most sparkling effervescence. Lamartine was the rising star of poetry, eclipsing all former ones. Talleyrand and Châteaubriand in their tents, made their influence felt through the rising journalist-statesmen of that seething period. Even in religion the socialist Catholicism of La Mennais seemed to be singing the swan-song of the old order. Long-haired romanticists of the *Cénacle*, and the yet remaining spectres of the *Œil de Bœuf* were making those strange fusions and confusions described by Stendhal and Balzac. In politics M. de la Ferronays and his friends, Hyde de Neuville, Lainé, and Martignac, thought that the King should keep the pledges of the *Charte*, and from him, no doubt, his daughter Pauline inherited a desire that whatever was good in the Revolution of 1789 should be retained, and the legitimate rights of men be developed in the best way. The air was full of generous impulses and utopian schemes, reconstructions were planned of all human institutions from the Papacy to the *Maison de Molière*. With her keen sympathies, Mdlle. de la Ferronays entered into the burning thoughts of the day. Disputes in all questions of art were especially interesting to her, for she was an artist in temperament,

out of that art which always served religion as its first and final cause. Small and slight, her large dark eyes scanned her wide horizons with a certain dignified reserve, until her sense of beauty, moral and material, illumined them. Her smile was sweet, but it showed a hint of satire when her good sense was offended. She had beautiful teeth, perfect to the last, but in her indescribable dignity and distinction special criticism of perhaps too aquiline a nose, and too long a head for her height, disappeared.

Amid such surroundings the development of her keen intelligence could not fail to be rapid, but the scene of her life soon shifted again. Her father's health obliged him to resign his appointment and seek rest and change of climate for a time. Italy furnished the stage on which the next act of the drama of the La Ferronays family was to be played, and its scenery and atmosphere formed the romantic background of its further development. Rome, where M. de la Ferronays held for a short space the post of Ambassador, resigned after the Revolution of July 1830, was their residence in the spring of that year, exchanged for Naples when the cessation of official income necessitated retrenchment of expenditure. The impression made on Pauline's mind by a visit to the Catacombs, inspired her first literary essay, a descriptive sketch published by the Abbé Gerbet in his periodical *L'Université Catholique*, and afterwards embodied in his "Esquisses de Rome Chrétienne." But her life was at this period too full of change and excitement to admit of her following up her initial step in the career of letters, and she wrote later in her *Reminiscences*: "Having taken up my pen in this way during one hour in 1830, I laid it down not to use it again until thirty-seven years later, when I ventured to publish the memories which belonged to that period of my life."

The touching love-story of Albert, in narrating which his elder sister almost obliterates her own existence, began with his first visit to the Countess d'Alopens, Alexandrine's mother, on January 17th, 1832. Then a youth of nineteen, whom delicacy of constitution had prevented from taking a profession, he had wisely resolved to avoid the temptations of Neapolitan society in study and travel, when all his faculties became absorbed in the attachment which dominated the rest of his short life. Like many of the most enduring passions, it was, on his side, kindled at first sight, and but stimulated by the

obstacles it encountered. Among these were his youth and uncertain position, as well as the difference of religion; for Alexandrine was a Lutheran. To this fact was due that remarkable coincidence in the prayers of the lovers to which their after fate gave such strange fulfilment. For in the first stage of their acquaintance, Albert, barefooted and in a monk's frock, made the pilgrimage of the Seven Basilicas for Alexandrine's conversion, offering up his life in exchange for it; while she, on her part, at fifteen years of age, when on the eve of confirmation, and perhaps troubled by doubts, had made a solemn abandonment of her earthly happiness, asking that at that price she might be brought "to a clear view of truth." Readers of the "*Récit*" will not require to be reminded how both prayers were simultaneously answered by Albert's early death, and Alexandrine's conversion as its consequence.

The later phases of their courtship were contemporaneous with Mrs. Craven's own. Her feelings at this personal crisis of her life find scanty place in the "*Récit d'une Sœur*," but they may be traced in the passage in which she states the summer of 1834, after the marriage of Albert and Alexandrine, to have been the happiest of the lives of all, when they had attained, without knowing it, the culminating point of their felicity. Her engagement to Mr. Craven had then been sanctioned after long opposition from the relations on both sides, and their marriage, followed by the Protestant ceremony, was celebrated by Mgr. Porta on August 28th, in the chapel of the Acton Palace at Naples.*

Augustus Craven, then an accomplished and handsome young man, "melodramatically so," as Mrs. Bishop expresses it, was two years older than his wife, with whom in artistic and literary tastes he had much in common. His father was Mr. Keppel Craven, whose mother, on her first husband's death, became Margravine of Anspach, and by this lady, who figures prominently in contemporary memoirs and correspondence, the boy was brought up. His birth was a mystery, and his mother's name remained unknown; but this drawback, to which he was himself painfully sensitive, did not prevent his

* This is the date in the "*Récit d'une Sœur*," though Mrs. Bishop gives August 24th.

being accepted in the society to which his father's birth and connections entitled him. Gazetted when very young to a commission in the Line, he left the army in 1830, to join the diplomatic service as attaché to the British Legation at Naples. Here his father too resided, and entertained much company both in his palace at Chiatamone and in an old convent in the mountains near Salerno, which he had bought and fitted up as a dwelling-house. He was at first violently opposed to his son's marriage to a Catholic, but was at last persuaded to give his consent and to render it possible by settling £500 a year on him, while at his death, in 1851, he left him a considerable amount of property.

The first act of the newly wedded couple was to seek an audience and blessing from the Pope, for Augustus Craven's conversion to his wife's creed was already accomplished, and his reception into the Church took place during their visit to Rome. Mrs. Craven's earliest married home was in Naples, which, however, lost some of its charm for her on its final abandonment by her own family in the following year, for the château of Boury near Gisors in Normandy, where a property had been bought to replace that sold in Touraine. In the spring of 1836 she made her first appearance in English society, whose highest circles were at once opened to her. Thenceforward England, her country by marriage and adoption, became to her a third home, dearer in the end of her life than the other two. Her visits to it during many subsequent years varied her residence in Lisbon, Brussels, and Stuttgart, in the course of her husband's diplomatic career.

Meantime that series of bereavements which left her life so desolate had begun with the death of Albert in June 1836, after two years and two months of ideally happy married life. This first gap in the family circle was not long the only one, for the death of M. de la Ferronays, in January 1842, was quickly followed by that of his two daughters, Eugénie (Mme. de Mun) and Olga, and by those of Alexandrine and of the Countess de la Ferronays in 1848. These were the "six deaths," of which the "*Récit d'une Sœur*" is the story, told with the pathos of a simplicity that is the highest art.

These years of sorrow were succeeded by some brilliant and prosperous ones, during which the current of her married

life flowed smoothly on, alternating between Naples, where Mr. Craven took up his residence on the death of his father in 1851, and visits to great houses in England, Broadlands, Bowood, Arundel, and others, where she and her husband were welcome guests. One bitter disappointment to hope and ambition fell to her lot in England, in the defeat of her husband in the contest for the representation of the Co. Dublin in the general election of 1852. He had thrown up his diplomatic career in the anticipation of a political one, and the want of occupation and active interest that preyed on him in subsequent years was not the least among her many crosses.

Their increase of fortune, however, rendered their position in Naples an additionally brilliant one, and the talent of both for theatricals was constantly turned to account in performances given at the private theatre of their own house in aid of the poor of the city. Here Mrs. Craven formed an intimate friendship with the Duchess Ravaschieri Fieschi, who wrote a memoir of her in Italian the year after her death. To this friend's little daughter Lina she attached herself with a passion, as Mrs. Bishop says, "rarely equalled by that of mothers," returned by the child with an affection which had an element of fascination. The blank left in her life by the want of children of her own was thus to some extent supplied, but an additional pang was in store for her in the death of this adored creature some few years later, after sufferings heartrending to witness in one so young.

But during some years of her life in Naples there was a brief truce with misfortune, and she enjoyed for a time all the interests that friends, wealth, and the various activities imposed by a high social position can confer. To a visit to England at this period belongs an anecdote of Lord Palmerston, recounted as follows in Mrs. Bishop's pages:

Lord Palmerston, at that time Prime Minister, meeting the Duc d'Aumale at a party where were also the Comte and Comtesse de Castiglione, mistook H.R.H., whom strangely he did not know by sight, for the husband of the very beautiful lady to whom Lord Palmerston had been just presented. Mrs. Craven was aghast at the unceremoniousness of the English Minister's manner. However, she helped to avert what threatened to become an international misunderstanding. She

invoked Lord and Lady Holland's help, who at first did not wish to be mixed up in the affair. Lord Palmerston asked for an invitation to dine on a day when the Duc d'Aumale was to be at Holland House, and repaired his inadvertent want of courtesy in his best manner.

Few who then knew Mrs. Craven as the delightful conversationalist and queen of society, at once sympathetic and brilliant, would have guessed that her true inner life was one of memories. Yet the long preliminary labour of the task of her later years had already begun. Her house in London, which she calls "the ideal home of which I dreamt," was sold in 1853 to her profound regret; and Naples, in many respects antipathetic to her despite its natural beauties, became her permanent abode. Not only its social distractions, but the lulling balm of its soft air, rendered difficult any sustained effort of mind:

Difficult [she says] because Naples is noisy as well as tiresome. For want of interest the mind grows sleepy, attention is distracted by the clatter, and recollection is almost impossible.

It was in this uncongenial atmosphere that she had set about the arrangement of the mass of family correspondence in her hands according to the sequence of Alexandrine's journal, and had begun to build up day by day the structure of her deathless monument to her dead. The idea of its actual publication grew slowly in her mind, and the materials when roughly cast into the form she had designed for them, were at first privately submitted to friends, among whom Mme. Swetchine was the chief. The influence of this wonderful woman in moulding Mrs. Craven's mind and thoughts was at this juncture very considerable, and her death in 1857 left an additional blank in her life.

She was witness as no one else was [says the journal for the following year] of the anxieties my life occasioned me. Often she said that I must make a refuge in my heart to which I could retire in times of uncertainty; she said that I needed an immovable central point in my soul, whatever were its external agitations. "Il vous faut l'assiette dans ce repos intérieur." She often repeated and wrote the phrase, and sometimes hurt me by so doing, because it did not seem applicable to what I was suffering at the moment—painful anxiety—anxiety about circumstances independent of my will. Sometimes she said to me

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almost harshly, if the term could be applied to her sweet and gentle words, "You suffer because you are wanting in calm." And yet it appeared to me that I was not calm just because I suffered.

This interior stability of mind so necessary for the production of her work was much assisted by Mrs. Craven's acquisition, in 1858, of that rustic retreat among the mountains of Salerno, now consecrated by so many memories of her. A peasant's cottage on the hill of Castagneto, near the village of La Cava de' Tirreni, was transformed into the romantic villa so proudly shown to the stranger as the spot where the "*Récit d'une Sœur*" took form and shape in the mind of its author. A landscape, with the Apennines as background, and the Tyrrhenian Sea for its horizon, formed, in her own words, a curtain let fall between her and the great world, shutting out its crowded stage with a drop-scene of which Nature herself was the artist.

The family griefs which unceasingly haunted the inmost chambers of her heart, were renewed by the deaths of her two remaining brothers, Charles, the eldest, in 1863, and Fernand, the youngest, suddenly while in attendance on the Comte de Chambord, three years later. Pauline was thus the sole survivor of her immediate relations, the residuary legatee, as it were, of the sad documents recording their history. But the future of the "*Récit d'une Sœur*," now actually completed, was, in 1865, still uncertain, and the momentous question of its publication had yet to be decided.

In the spring of that year [Mrs. Bishop tells us] Mrs. Craven went to Paris that she might herself submit to some members of her family the ripened labour of the last twelve years, during which she had given to documents used in her immortal work that proportion and harmony which proved her so consummate an artist. The Comte's (now Marquis de Mun's) consent was required for the publication of his wife Eugénie's journal and letters. As he devoured the pages of the manuscript with indescribable emotion, he exclaimed: "No, I cannot allow these pages of Eugénie's life to be given to the world. In any case, the letters written after our marriage must be suppressed." The blow was great to Mrs. Craven. She told M. de Montalembert (the friend of Albert's youth) what her brother-in-law had said, and he agreed that he also would have felt the same. "I believe that you will have to await the death of all concerned before you can publish these records," he added: while more than one person, revered by her, frankly assured her that it were better

to put them in the fire than submit them to a doubtful public. Mrs. Craven writes: "A voice in my heart, however, said, Courage: the example of those dear souls will do good in a much wider circle than that narrow one of your Paris intimates. This assurance conquered in me my own distrust, and overcame the opposition of others."

It was by the intercession of M. de Mun's second wife, Eugénie's successor, that his consent was eventually gained, while the change in his sentiments worked by time, was shown in his request to Mrs. Craven to write a memoir of this lady many years later.

The general sale of the "*Récit*" was, however, still interdicted, and when the first volume appeared early in the year 1866, only 500 copies were printed for a very restricted circulation. But the book was not destined to such comparative obscurity, and its immediate success overcame all further objections to publicity. In two days the first 500 copies were sold, and in a few months it had run through nine editions. It may be said to have made an epoch in religious literature as a revelation of the sanctifying influence of faith on lives passed amidst the most brilliant scenes of gaiety and fashion. Among the many lessons taught by it, this was, if not the highest, at least the most novel, and the one that perhaps constituted its chief fascination for the public.

It was not given to many of its readers to understand its title to their sympathy [says Mrs. Bishop] but the sympathy was certainly felt. Mrs. Craven was almost bewildered by finding herself among many new acquaintances, who insisted on talking to her of her dead with strange intimacy. There were, in truth, relationships formed by our common aspirations which took tangible shape in the "*Récit*," where a family known to so many as popular, agreeable, and accomplished, were suddenly discovered to have lived in a region where the pain of life was transfigured, and the shadow of death was lifted, and the common events of humanity took new forms, so that their drift was reversed. No wonder so many desired to join the happy and beautiful souls described to them: for hope is given to all. Yet, no doubt there were a few, and those belonging chiefly to the Faubourg St. Germain, who dreaded what was unconventional in its pages.

In that august circle, indeed, we are told that mothers had been heard to say that they should prefer that their girls should read Paul de Kock rather than the story of the innocent

love of Albert and Alexandrine. But these few dissident voices were merged in the general verdict of admiration, since ratified by the lapse of nearly thirty years. Among the many new friends it won for its author was Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, and the effect of the work in earning a real personal love for those so long dead, was illustrated by his pilgrimage to Lumigny, merely in order to visit the grave of Eugénie, and see the place that had been her home. He continued to be one of Mrs. Craven's most constant correspondents, and the present volumes contain a number of very interesting letters addressed to him by her. In the first of these she says:

What I feel most touched by, and most thankful for, in the letter I have just received from you, is your saying that the "*Récit d'une Sœur*" is not a book. You know, therefore, also that you are not receiving at this moment the thanks of an author. But as you feel also (for no one seems to have sympathised with me so thoroughly) that there must have been on my part a great deal of reluctance and dread to overcome before I could bring myself to publish a story so dear, so *intime*, so thoroughly my own, you must understand how deeply thankful I am when I feel that I did well to overcome that reluctance, and that I am justified in introducing my dear beloved ones to many who never knew them upon earth, and in hoping that the recollection of their lives might be useful and consoling to others besides myself.

The publication of the "*Récit*" paved the way for that in serial form in the *Correspondant* of "*Anne Séverin*," a novel previously written, soon followed in the same pages by that of "*Fleurange*" and "*Le Mot de l'énigme*," the most powerful of the author's works of pure fiction. Its drama of passion and temptation has for its background that Neapolitan society so intimately known to her, and its leading incident, in which a flash of supernatural illumination averts the shipwreck of a soul, is, as she has herself declared, the presentment of literal fact. It embodies more of her own experiences than any other of her works, and its lofty purpose gains added weight from the veracity of its portraiture of life in its most frivolous aspects.

In the life of Natalie Narischkin, a devoted Sister of Charity, and early friend of her sister Olga, she had a congenial theme, associated with her dearest memories, while an article in the *Correspondant* on Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on "*Vaticanism*,"

vindicating the Catholics of England from the charge of disloyalty there brought against them, showed the versatility of her powers. Her literary income formed an addition to her resources that was no longer to be despised, for the decline of her fortunes had been contemporaneous with the rise of her fame. Her husband's once ample means had gradually been swallowed up in disastrous speculation, and pecuniary misfortune, eventually culminating in ruin, was one of the many forms of trial appointed for her brave spirit. Furniture, family pictures, all the prized treasures of an artistic home, had to be sacrificed, and agonising calculations as to the possibility of life, even on the most straitened basis, occupied her thoughts during many of her later years. Yet no word of complaint escapes her, and her cheerful courage in adapting herself to circumstances so untoward, is no less admirable than her efforts to supplement the woeful deficiencies of fortune. Thus she made a great sacrifice of personal feeling in publishing her "*Meditations*," containing her most intimate thoughts on religion, in order that she might be able, out of the proceeds, to make a provision for a faithful servant, whose future she saw no other means of securing. This was the volume which, having omitted as too insignificant from the copies of her works sent to the Queen in 1883, she had to add at the special request of Her Majesty, who sent her word that she was reading the "*Récit*" for the first time with great interest, and that she desired to possess "all the books" she had written, with her name in each. She was much gratified to receive in return all the Queen's works, some unpublished and of all the greater value, with her name inscribed in them by Her Majesty's own royal hand. A less complimentary view of her position in literature was taken by another English critic, as she tells in a letter to Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff:

Did I tell you that Lord Ronald Gower, in his "*Reminiscences*," describing a party at Wrest Park, says that "he met there a remarkable Frenchwoman with a handsome Dante face (I should call that a handsome ugly face) well known for having written several goody-goody books—amongst others the '*Récit d'une Sœur*,' which he had attempted to read, but had not succeeded in getting through. Of course, I don't approve of this judgment, but the book is full of many things that amused me nevertheless."

The death of her husband, in 1884, left her utterly alone, and very desolate. "Life (she writes to Mrs. Bishop in a later letter) has now to me the appearance of a once brilliantly illuminated church, where, one by one, the lights are being all extinguished, leaving only alight the lamp of the sanctuary—the real light which happily cannot die out." During the remaining years of her life, she brought out another novel, "*Le Valbriant*," known to English readers in Lady Herbert's version as "*Lucia*," and the "*Life of Lady Georgina Fullerton*," her last work.

She had not yet drained the cup of suffering to the dregs, and a last agonising martyrdom awaited her. Stricken down by partial paralysis in April 1890, she lost all power of coherent speech in the following June, and survived ten months in that state of painful deprivation. Her other faculties remained clear and unclouded, but the gift of utterance that had been hers in such large measure was taken from her, and for the eloquence of her "golden voice" was substituted a pathetic and unmeaning babble—its "sweet bells jangled out of tune." Death released her on April 2nd, 1891, when she had nearly completed her eighty-third year.

Her long life was a mystery of suffering that makes the heart ache with the "why" that has no answer on this side of the grave. All her hopes failed, all her prospects faded, and all she loved perished, even to the stranger's child that she had taken to her empty heart. So strangely did fate persecute those in whom she felt an interest, that after successive misfortunes to three infants for whom she had been sponsor, she refused for the rest of her life to act in that capacity. Even the temple of fame she entered as a mourner, and her literary crown was jewelled with tears. Feeling and intellect were in her so closely interwoven, that only the severe discipline of adversity could have developed those deeper sides of her character, whose evolution was concomitant with her mental growth. On no other terms could she have risen to her vocation as the interpreter of sorrow irradiated by faith, the grave Muse of memory uplifted by Christian hope.

Yet she must always have been a remarkable woman, many-sided in her gifts, as the letters included in this volume suffice in themselves to show. There was no question of her day on

which her judgment was not clear, and her power of lucid statement masterly. Of the politics of three countries she had a statesmanlike grasp, while her vivid intuitions and passionate sense of right enabled her to divine the truths that others could only grope blindly after.

“Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of love,” her scorn and hate were impersonal, directed only against wrong and injustice, while her love was for her faith, her friends, and humanity at large.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. VIII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION.

1. *Sakramente und Sakramentalien.* Von Dr. F. PROBST.
Tübingen. 1872.
2. *Les Origines du Culte Chrétien.* Par L'ABBÉ L. DUCHESNE.
Paris. 1889.

THE history of the two sacraments of initiation into the Christian life is only secondary in importance to that of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. Indeed, from a merely historical point of view their history has this advantage, that the changes made during the last fourteen centuries in the administration of Baptism and Confirmation have been even fewer than those in the Mass itself. The rites attending those two sacraments carry us back therefore directly to the days of the infant Church ; and we can easily picture to ourselves the impressive scene, when, on the eve of Easter or Pentecost, the catechumens went through the final ceremonies prescribed for their initiation, renounced Satan and all his works, and professed their acceptance of the doctrines and practices of that religious body, which, though small and despised, was beginning already to leaven the world.

The subject has naturally attracted less study than has been devoted to the Liturgy proper, but modern authorities are not wanting. The work of Probst, which stands at the head of this article, has left little more for his successors to do than the task of filling in details, and of adding a few points which had escaped him, or which have become known since his time. The work suffers to some extent by its being strictly limited to the first three centuries ; for the ante-Nicene history of these sacraments is hardly intelligible, apart from the ritual development of the period immediately following. Happily, M. Duchesne's excellent book takes up the subject at the fourth century, from which point onwards no better guide could be desired. Of older writers, Dom Martène is perhaps the most useful ; and almost all our information is of course derived

from the Fathers, and from the invaluable notes of the great Benedictine editors, especially those on St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, above all from Dom Toutée's commentaries on St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Among Anglican writers, Dr. Mason, whose recent work I shall have occasion to refer to,* merits high praise for his candour and learning. I should be going out of my way were I to discuss his main thesis, which is, that Baptism and Confirmation form but one sacrament, but that each has its specific effect, which in the case of Confirmation is the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. This is, of course, a nearer approach to Catholic doctrine than the ordinary Anglican view, which Dr. Mason rightly says is not to be found in the primitive Church; but it is open to like historical objections, besides the obvious difficulty of conceiving a sacrament which should be single, and yet double in all that constitutes a sacrament.

It does not seem that much light is to be thrown on the details of these two sacraments by an examination of the ceremonies used by the Jews. Schürer and others indeed have supposed that the so-called baptism of the proselytes served as a precedent for St. John; but this rite is most probably later than the fall of Jerusalem, as it is not mentioned by Philo, Josephus, or the Talmud.† The Baptist is much more likely to have followed the example of the frequent washings prescribed by the old Law, and multiplied by the Pharisees. In like manner, the laying on of hands, anointing with oil, and the use of unguents, were customs familiar to the Jews, and were, for that reason, raised by our Lord to the office of conveying and symbolising the moral and spiritual gifts His Apostles were to impart. It is important at the present day to bear in mind the very obvious truth, that Christianity had its origin in a nation where these external practices were habitual, and that they were adopted by our Lord for His own and His disciples' use. By practically leaving the New Testament out of account, a modern school, of which Dr. Hatch has been the most influential member in England, has been able to gain credence for the view that all such rites are of heathen origin, and due

* "The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism in the Western Church." By Dr. A. Mason.

† See Schanz on Matt. iii. 6.

to the influence of Greek thought and practice on the early Church. If, however, the New Testament and the ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries are studied together, they will be recognised as parts of one organic whole, and either will be found to throw much light on what is obscure in the other.

There are, as is well known, two forms for baptism in the Roman Ritual, that used for the baptism of adults differing considerably in its ceremonies from that of infants. The latter is, however, almost entirely an abridgment of the former, which alone I shall examine here. On close study, its internal evidence strongly suggests that it has been condensed, and that the prayers and ceremonies which now immediately precede baptism must originally have been spread over a much longer time. Thus the three renunciations of the devil and his works, and the three interrogations as to the faith, occur twice, at the beginning and just before baptism. The candidate is made to repeat the Lord's Prayer thrice; and after each recital the godparent is bidden to make the sign of the cross on the candidate's forehead. The language of some of the prayers and exorcisms points in the same direction; for instance, it is said that the candidate "*in huius seculi nocte vagatur incertus et dubius*," and "*ut idoneus efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi, percepta medicina*."

The history of the administration of the sacrament entirely confirms this view. The earliest examples of baptism in the Acts, indeed, show us that it was often conferred without more preliminary instruction or preparation than was needed to elicit an act of faith in our Lord and of desire to be baptized. But in most of these cases there was no time for detailed instruction, and sometimes (as in the first reception of Gentile converts into the Church) the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit took the place of further training. But we also find instances—such as the gradual instruction of Apollos—which show that time when available was taken before baptizing converts; and the "*catechizers*" of Gal. vi. 6, and "*pedagogues*" of 1 Cor. iv. 15, imply that St. Paul had at least made considerable way towards the establishment of the catechumenate. The education of intending converts would clearly run on one of two lines, according as they started from

Judaism or heathenism ; and hence common schemes of instruction would become convenient, if not necessary. The Didache fortunately supplies us with evidence of such a scheme, in its simplest, and probably earliest, form. The first six chapters of that work are made up of precepts and prohibitions, chiefly moral, based on the love of God and one's neighbour, which we are expressly told were to be taught to candidates for baptism.* This seems to have been mainly, if not exclusively, intended for converts from Judaism, who were already sufficiently acquainted with the fundamental doctrine of the unity of God, and with the Decalogue. But those who approached the Church from heathenism—who soon became the great majority of all converts—had much more to unlearn and to learn before they could be received. It is clear, even from the account given by St. Justin, and yet more from Clement and Tertullian, that the catechumens first learned those truths of natural religion and morality which heathenism had confused and obscured ; and then were instructed in the mysteries of revealed religion.†

Origen tells us, what we should naturally expect, that an inquiry was first made as to the probable sincerity of the candidate for further instruction, and also into such of his circumstances, whether a slave, soldier, married or single, &c., as might be a difficulty in the way of his reception. If the result of this inquiry was satisfactory, the candidates were admitted into the catechumenate, in which they were usually kept about three years. Apparently the admission to the catechumenate was marked by an explicit profession of desire on the part of the inquirer to be received into the Church, made to the Bishop or his delegate, who made the sign of the cross on the candidate's forehead. Tertullian's language‡ suggests that the opening words of our present baptismal service date at least from his day ; and that they are the remains of the ceremony of reception into the catechumenate. The catechumens were then instructed in the elementary truths

* Βαπτίζετε ταῦτα πάντα προεπιόντες. (Did. 7, 1.)

† So much, I think, is certain from Probst's detailed account (Lehre und Gebet, pp. 79-182), although Prof. Funk has shown that there is not sufficient evidence that the catechumens were formally divided into two or three classes, as Probst and others had supposed.

‡ "Norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris." (Bapt. 18.)

of natural and revealed religion, the general lines of the Rule of Faith being followed, and they were also carefully trained in the vast difference between the Christian and heathen standards of morality. Clement's "Paedagogus" gives a good idea of the profound and detailed practical education which a Pagan needed before reception into the Church of Christ; and this is no doubt the explanation of what may seem to us the long time during which the catechumens were detained under instruction and observation. They were probably not allowed to go further until they professed their readiness and ability to take up the responsibilities of a Christian life, and to bear the yoke of the Gospel.*

We learn from Tertullian that the proximate preparation for baptism lasted forty days, occupying therefore the time of Lent, if—as was the rule—the sacrament was conferred at Easter. During this period the catechumens were more fully instructed in the mysteries of the faith, and probably to some extent in the nature of the sacraments they were so soon about to receive; they also learned by heart the baptismal Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Probst remarks that in the "Testimonia" of St. Cyprian we apparently have a specimen of part of the catechetical course of dogmatic instruction; while the character of the practical teaching of prayer is exemplified in the commentaries on the "Pater noster" which Origen, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian have left us.

These forty days of immediate preparation for the sacraments were rendered still more solemn by the religious practices and ceremonies which were assigned to them. In the East, we are told by an author of the second century,† that "fastings, supplications, prayers with outstretched hands, and genuflexions precede baptism"; while Tertullian uses the same language in the West.‡

On examining these in detail, we shall find that the ceremonies of this stage of the catechumenate constitute almost entirely the pre-baptismal part of our present Ritual.

In the Church of Africa—and therefore, we may safely

* Didache, 6; S. Justin, Apol. i. 61.

† Excerpta Theodoti, 88.

‡ "Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris ieiuniis geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet, et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum." (De Bapt. 20.)

conclude, in that of Rome—the beginning of this period was marked by a formal renunciation of the devil, of his pomps and his works. This was distinct from the renunciation which immediately preceded baptism, though it was made in the same words: Tertullian* expressly mentions the repetition, which, as I have remarked above, is to be found in the baptism of adults at the present day.

This first renunciation was made, not in the baptistery, but in the church,† in the presence of the Bishop who placed his hand on the head of the candidate and exorcised him.‡

This renunciation almost everywhere had the form of answers to questions, as at present. The only exception was apparently the Church of Syria, especially in Jerusalem, where the neophyte, turning to the West, “the region of darkness,” addressed the devil as present, and with outstretched hands said: “I renounce thee, Satan.”§ The word “pomp,” common from the earliest period to the East and West, carries us back to a time when the danger of indirect idolatry spread over almost every detail of daily life.||

The renouncement of Satan was followed by a short profession of faith, which also was in the shape of answers to questions, everywhere but in Syria. This form was that adopted by the Roman law in all solemn contracts, and must have been used for the engagements entered into at baptism from the earliest times. One cannot lay stress on the interrogation of the Eunuch by Philip (Acts viii. 37), because of the uncertainty of the text; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the ἐπερώτημα of 1 Peter iii. 21 refers to the interrogation at baptism, and it is highly probable that the ὁμολογία of 1 Tim. vi. 12 does so also.¶ In the next century there is sufficient evidence that the custom was general throughout the

* Cor. Mil. 3; de Spectac. 13.

† So St. Justin, Apol., i. 61; and Tertullian, “aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiasse diabolo et pompae et angelis eius.” (Cor. Mil. 3.)

‡ “Per manus inpositionem in exorcismo.” (Conc. Carthag. vii., and Conc. Illib. Can. xxxix.)

§ St. Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst. i. 2; Const. Apost. vii. 41.

|| “The pomp of the devil is the folly of theatres and hippodromes and hunts and all such vanity.” (Cyr. Hier. *loc. cit.*; Tertullian de Spectac. 24.)

¶ The tenses point to some definite occasion when this confession was made, and that it was when the disciple was called to eternal life; therefore to his baptism, and not to ordination, as has been supposed.

entire Church,* and at any rate by the third century the form had been long fixed;† and was the same as the one used now.‡ It included, besides a profession of faith in the Blessed Trinity, an act of faith in the sacrament of baptism. In Jerusalem, the candidate turned to the East, and said: "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of penance."§

The forty days thus begun were employed in instructing the convert more fully, and especially in impressing on him the enormity of sin, and in training him for the Christian life. Fasting and other bodily mortifications occupied a prominent place. We have seen these mentioned by Theodotus and Tertullian, but there are much earlier evidences of the former; the *Didache* and St. Justin, agreeing in this as in so many points, tell us that at any rate early in the second century those who assisted at a baptism fasted as well as the convert.||

Another important preparation for baptism was confession. This is mentioned by Tertullian, but his language has been generally thought to refer to a general self-accusation—such as that in the Mass, or at Prime or Compline—and not to a specific confession of sins. But I think with Probst that it is impossible to read Tertullian's words with care, and to doubt that he intended the latter. The confession he speaks of was a secret, not a public, one; and the shame of making it was part of the satisfaction for sin.¶ Somewhat later, in the East we find evidences of the same** in various places. Tertullian refers to Matt. iii. 6 as a precedent; he seems therefore to have believed the confession made before John's baptism was also a specific one, as indeed the plural "sins" would naturally but not certainly imply. He does not notice the closer parallel

* Dionysius of Alexandria (Eusebius, H. E., vii. 9); Tertullian *de pud.* 9, and *Res. carn.*, 48; Origen in *Exod.* hom. v. 1.

† "Usitate et legitima interrogationis verba." (Firmilian in Cyp. Opera, ed. Hartel, p. 818.)

‡ St. Cyprian, p. 768. The closing words of cap. 61 of St. Justin's Apology suggest a formula like our own.

§ St. Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst. i. 9; Const. Apost. *loc. cit.*

|| *Didache*, vii. 4; *Apol.* i. 61; see also Clem. Recog., iii. 67; vii. 37.

¶ "Nobis gratulandum est si non publice confitemur iniquitates aut turpitudines nostras; simul enim satisfacimus de pristinis conflictatione carnis et spiritus, et de subsecuturis temptationibus munimenta praestruimus." (*De Bapt.* 20.)

** Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst. i. 5 and ii.; Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iv. 61; Socrates, H. E., v. 17.

of Acts xix. 8, where the confession was apparently a specific one, and made by persons who believed, but were not yet baptized. A little later still, we find confession before baptism usual in St. Ambrose's day in Milan.* Frequent prayer in the penitential position of kneeling was enjoined; and the candidates were repeatedly examined to ascertain if they were fit subjects for receiving the sacraments. The "scrutinia" were held everywhere, but with most solemnity in Rome, where they were repeated seven times during Lent.† The most important of them was on the Wednesday of the fourth week in Lent, when the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were solemnly delivered to the catechumens. This day, called "*in apertione aurium*," is still characterised in the Roman Missal by the beautiful Ferial Mass of the day, all of which refers to the sacrament about to be conferred. The usage differed in details in different Churches of the West; for instance, it appears from several passages of St. Augustine that in Africa the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were repeated by the candidate after some days' interval, so as to ensure their being perfectly remembered. I suppose this was originally the Roman custom also, and that this was the source of the repetition of the "Pater noster" in the present baptism of adults. We learn from several authors that special attention was paid in Rome to the verbal accuracy of the Creed, which the catechumens recited from a raised platform.‡

Having learned the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, the convert passed into the class of the "*competentes*," and his name was given in for baptism, if this had not been done at the beginning of Lent; for the practice evidently varied.§

The choice of a "Christian" name must have been common in the East at a very early period;|| and must have been required to take the place of names derived from heathen mythology, which would be abhorrent to Christians. With this was connected the institution of sponsors or godparents,

* In Lucam, lib. 6; see, too, the author of the *De Sacramentis*, iii. 2.

† Martène tells us that the Churches of Laon and Vienne still retained the "*scrutinia*" when he wrote.

‡ St. Aug. Conf. viii. 2.

§ De Sacram, iii. 2.

|| Clem. Recog. iii. 67; Dionysius of Alexandria in Eusebius, H. E., vii. 25; and the case of the martyrs of Palestine.

first explicitly mentioned by Tertullian,* although the custom must have existed before his time.†

Corresponding with these preparations on the part of the catechumen, a series of ceremonies were prescribed for the ministers of the sacrament. I have already mentioned that the period of immediate preparation for baptism began with an exorcism and reconciliation of the convert, marked by the Bishop's laying hands on the candidates, and making the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Similar rites and exorcisms were frequently repeated during Lent at the *scrutinia*; and are the origin of those in the pre-baptismal part of our present service. Some of these were accompanied, as now, with insufflation and exsufflation, of which there is abundant evidence in the Eastern Church;‡ and which was called a "*consuetudo antiqua*," by St. Augustine in the West.§

Touching the nose and ears with saliva seems to have been a Western custom of rather later date; at any rate, the earliest evidence I find of it is in St. Ambrose,|| in whose day the same words seem to have been used as at present.

The use of salt is not certainly mentioned until later still; for a passage which has been relied on in Origen ¶ is probably allegorical; and a reference of the date of St. Cyprian and two passages in St. Augustine are also doubtful.** Excluding these, we find it expressly mentioned first in the letter on baptism of Joannes Diaconus to Senarius.†† written about 512; and then by St. Isidore about a century later.

While these ceremonies were apparently introduced, others were omitted, such as the washing of the feet, at one time

* De Bapt. 19.

† Hippolytus (ix. 15) tells us that the Elchasaites had seven sponsors who undertook that the neophyte should lead a moral and religious life. According to the Areopagite, the ἀναδόχος assisted in the instruction of the candidate. (Cael. Hier. 2.)

‡ Φυσήσεις τε καὶ ἀντιφυσήσεις (Greg. Naz.); καὶ ἐμφυσήθῃς, καὶ ἐπορκισθῇς (Cyr. Hier.).

§ De Nupt. et Conc. ii. 29; de Symbolo, i. 6; see, too, Tertullian, Apol. 23.

|| De Myst. 1. The Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose date this treatise about 387. The author of the De Sacramentis, i. 1, puts this as the first of all the baptismal ceremonies; but also mentions a touching of the eyes at the time of admission to the "*competentes*." This diversity leads one to suppose the rite must have been already one of some antiquity.

¶ "Non es aqua lota in salutem, nec sale salita." (Hom. 6, in Ezech. 6.)

** Conc. Carth. viii. 8; Confess. 11; Cat. Rud. 26.

†† Migne, P. L., lix. p. 399.

general, but prohibited by the 48th Canon of Elvira, probably because a sacramental efficacy had become erroneously attached to it.*

In Rome, and in most other parts of the West, these preliminary ceremonies were performed in the church, where the catechumens assisted at the earlier part of the Liturgy, which during Lent seems to have been specially designed for their instruction; while in Milan and a few Oriental Churches the baptistery was used for the purpose.†

It is clear from St. Justin's language that a special baptistery was in use by the middle of the second century; and it was everywhere employed for the rites immediately preceding baptism. These began on Holy Saturday morning by reading the "Prophecies," which summed up all the instruction that had been given as to the dealings of God with mankind under the Dispensations that had prepared the way for Christianity. Then followed the anointing with oil; a ceremony which has had a remarkable history. The earliest evidence for it is almost entirely found in writings of an heretical, or at least a doubtful, character; such as the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the practice of certain Gnostic sects mentioned by St. Irenæus, and the Clementines.‡ Dr. Hatch, following Renan, infers from this that anointing was derived from the influence of non-Christian, Oriental, ideas.§

He omits, however, to take into account that the symbolical use of oil was familiar to the Jews, and was sanctioned by our Lord and the Apostles; so that we need not look beyond the New Testament for examples of Christian anointing. And it is hardly conceivable that a custom of Gnostic origin should have attained such importance in the Church in the next and the following centuries, when orthodox writers agree in putting the pre-baptismal anointing almost on a level with baptism itself and with confirmation.|| It is far more likely that the

* See de *Mysteriis*, 6, and the notes to de *Sacram.* iii. 1.

† The details may be found in Dom Toutée's *Diss.* 2, cap. 5, on St. Cyril.

‡ *Acta Matthæ et Thomæ*, ed. Tischendorf, pp. 186, 213; *Adv. Haer.* i. 21, ii.; *Recog.* iii. 67; and the third letter of Clement.

§ *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, p. 308.

|| *Const. Apost.* iii. 15; vii. 22, 42; *St. Cyr. Hier. Cat. Myst.* ii. 3; *St. Joan. Chrys. Hom.* 6 in *Col.*; *Cael. Hier.* 2; *Theodoret in Cant.*; qu. 137 ad *Orthod.* among the works of St. Justin; and *Can. Hippolyti*, xix. 9, 10.

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heretics took with them this ceremony with others when they left the Catholic Church.

It will be observed that all the authorities I quote are Oriental, and that there is no such early evidence of anointing in the West; indeed, the silence of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, and an incidental remark of St. Optatus, seem to prove that it was not in use, at least in Africa, in their time. But it must at any rate have been customary in Rome and Gaul before the fifth century; for a reply either of Siricius or Innocent I. to certain bishops of the latter country shows it must then have been established;* and there is abundant evidence of it later in the Latin Church. The symbolical meaning of this anointing is variously stated: Höfling is too absolute in saying that in the East a positive grace is assigned to it, while in the West its effect was considered as negative. The commonest view is that expressed by St. John Chrysostom, that the catechumen is "anointed like the athletes before they go into the stadium." The unction was followed by a repetition of the renunciations which had been pronounced at the beginning of Lent;† after which the font was blessed, this being mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, by SS. Cyril and Basil, in the East, and by St. Ambrose and the author of the "*de Sacramentis*" in Italy; the Areopagite is the first to speak of the addition of chrism to the blessed water. But it is impossible to read Tertullian's treatise on baptism‡ without recognising the identity of thought, and even of language, with the present Blessing of the Font on Holy Saturday; and one is inclined to believe that Tertullian was amplifying a ritual already existing, rather than to suppose that the Church adopted the words of that author. In either case it carries us back to the second century.

The catechumen's clothes were now entirely put off, if, as in the East, that had not been already done before the anointing; even rings were taken off, and he went down into the font and

* *Canones ad Gallos*, 11, in Coustant. The text is hopelessly corrupt; but it is clear that the Pope lays down it is immaterial when the "*oleum exorcizatum*" is used, provided it be before baptism. See, too, *de Sacramentis*, i. 2.

† "*Aquam adituri ibidem sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiasse diabolo et pompae et angelis eius.*" (Tertullian *Cor. Mil.* 3, and *Spectac.* 4; *de Sacramentis*, i. 2; and *de Mysteriis*, 2.)

‡ Especially caps 2-5 and 9.

was immersed thrice.* A single immersion seems to have been introduced in Spain to emphasise the unity of the Godhead, and was first distinctly permitted by St. Gregory the Great. Baptism by immersion is still prescribed by the Ritual where it is the custom, and was undoubtedly the rule in the early ages of the Church. But the validity of affusion has of late years received a very unexpected primitive witness in the *Didache*, and was evidently employed in the "clinical" baptism of the sick.

I have now reached a point at which it is convenient to break off, since the subject cannot be dealt with in one article, even in the very imperfect way which is all I have been able to attempt. I hope to be able to take it up on some subsequent occasion, to complete the history of baptism, and to give an account of confirmation.

J. R. GASQUET.

* Tertullian de Bapt. 13, and adv. Prax. 26.

ART. IX.—THE DISPENSING POWER.

TO many minds outside the Catholic Church the word “dispensation” inspires a certain measure of distaste and distrust. To the uneducated it seems “a permission to break the law;” to some, better informed, it seems “an evasion of the law,” and to many it seems a form of privilege which traverses the grand principle of the equality of all members of a community before the law—a principle which is rightly felt to be one of the most sacred safeguards of social morality. To a Catholic, and especially to a canonist, a dispensation is none of these things. It is not a breach, nor an evasion, but a natural and necessary supplement of the law; it does not mar the equality of citizens before the law, but, on the contrary, aims at securing it. The *rationale* of the dispensing power may be said to lie in two simple truths of natural reason. The first is, that power is never greater nor less than itself. It follows that a power which can make a law, can by the very fact modify or unmake it, and that the same power which imposes a law upon a given individual, can also exempt him from it. This exemption of an individual, or group of individuals, from the obligation of a law for a given or specified case is called a *dispensation*. (Were the exemption a standing one, and to extend from the concrete case to all future recurring cases of the same class, it would be called a *Privilege*.)

The second truth which forms the rational basis of the dispensing power is one which is amply verified by any competent and comprehensive knowledge of human nature. It lies in a well-known distinction between the character of Divine and human legislation. God, as the divine legislator, possesses so deep, intimate and all-complete a knowledge of the heart and the life of man, that He is able to frame the law which He gives to man with such perfect wisdom and foresight, and with such adaptability to man’s nature, that no case will ever arise in which the observance of God’s law will not coincide with man’s true interest and happiness. It is very different with the human legislator. His purview is upon the mass, and largely upon the surface. He can

only look broadly to the general well-being of society. He frames his law to meet the wants and needs of the community as a whole, and secure the happiness of the greatest number. But while the law, thus framed, makes for the welfare of the community and of the majority, inevitably it will fail to cover the special cases of given individuals. These special cases, too various and personal for classification or proviso, will, in the order of human things, exist and arise, and no human legislative wisdom can be expected in all instances to foresee or provide for them. In these, the very law which, in the case of the majority or community, makes for justice and happiness, may make for injustice and hardship. The very law which leads society to temporal or spiritual good, may, in these cases, constitute the very bar which will defraud a number of individuals from obtaining it. Let us take a concrete instance. It is for the well-being of society that cousins should not intermarry, and very properly the Church, with her eyes on the general good, has made a law to prohibit it. But here, let us say, in the Middle Ages, are two Barons, whose families have been engaged in a deadly feud, and in a chronic warfare upon each other's territory. A marriage between their children as cousins is barred by the Church's prohibition. But such a marriage would undoubtedly tend to the happiness not only of the persons themselves, but would seal an alliance securing the future peace and goodwill of their respective houses. The very prohibition, which is for the good of society at large, is here a mischievous obstacle to the good—the *bonum pacis*—of these two families. What, then, is the action of the Church? With one hand, she maintains the prohibition or law for society at large, whose good requires it, and with the other, she wisely uses the dispensing power, and lifts the obligation of her law from the particular case of these families, so that *their* welfare may not be obstructed. Thus she secures the happiness both of the community and of the individual. We may say, in fact, that the theory of dispensation has its reason in a sound appreciation of the principle that the law-giver is bound to provide for the interests of justice and happiness not only for the community, but (as, indeed, the very administration of justice and equity proves) for each particular case that may arise within its membership.

This seems to us both a broader, a higher and a nobler and humaner conception of lawgiving, than that of a cast-iron framing of general laws which look blindly and narrowly to the good of majorities, but by their indiscriminating enforcement crush out the happiness of a multitude of individuals.

From the above given principles the nature and scope of the dispensing power will be plain. On the one hand, it will be seen that it can have no *locus standi* in the region of Divine Law. On the other hand, it will be seen that, in the view of the Church, the dispensing power, or use of the *οἰκονομία*, is the natural and necessary accompaniment of all human or ecclesiastical legislation—the remedial and corrective element inseparable from it, if the interests of justice and equity are not to suffer in the cases of individuals. In the civil order the origin of the Court of Chancery, and the prerogative of the royal clemency, bear witness to the recognition of the same abiding need in the nature of human legislation.

However elementary these principles may seem, a strange amount of misconception seems to obtain as to the scope of the dispensing power as used by the Catholic Church. So eminent a person as the Archbishop of Canterbury, in so public a place as the House of Lords, during the debate on the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, ventured on the extraordinary statement that in the Catholic Church the very theory of dispensations was based on the belief that "the Pope can dispense in things forbidden by the Divine Law."* This assertion, so far from being an accurate statement of Catholic theology and Canon Law, is plainly opposed to the accepted teaching of both. The Archbishop might not unreasonably have been expected to remember that the chief cause which led to the separation of this country from the communion of the Holy See was the

* The Archbishop's words were:—"The question has been asked whether marriage with a deceased wife's sister would have been allowed by dispensation by the Church of Rome if the Papal See had understood it to be contrary to the Divine Law. The question shows a strange misapprehension of the claims of the Papal See. The theory is, that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, and that, therefore, he can dispense in regard to things which may be forbidden in the Divine Law. That is the whole theory of dispensations, and it is in accordance with this theory that very recently dispensations have been granted for the marriage of uncles and nieces, and if the question is at all to the point we must say that the marriage of uncles and aunts is not contrary to the Divine Law." [N.B. Dispensations for marriages between uncles and nieces are not granted on any such theory, but because such marriages are held to be prohibited not by Divine, but by ecclesiastical law.]

refusal of a Pope to accede to the wishes of the English sovereign upon a matter of divorce, and that the ground of this refusal was the fact that the concession asked for was barred by the Divine Law, of which the Pope had no power to relax the obligation. It might, therefore, be fairly said that the actual position of the Archbishop and of the Anglican communion bear witness that the Papal claim in regard of matters forbidden by Divine Law is exactly the opposite of what the Archbishop has stated it to be.

That the Pope has no real dispensing power in matters of Divine Law is set forth with abundant clearness in the standard theological and juridical literature of the Catholic Church. It is an elementary principle of both theology and Canon Law that legislative power and dispensing power are in the same hand and are necessarily co-ordinate; that only he who makes the law can have power to unmake or dispense from it, and that an inferior has no power to loose the law that is made by a superior. The obvious corollary of the principle is that, while the Church and her chief can dispense from Church-made or Papal law, neither the Church nor the Pope possesses any power to dispense from any law which is God-made or Divine. The principle is embodied in the Corpus Juris of the Canon Law (Clement, *Ne principes Rom.*), and is constantly appealed to by the canonists to prove that the whole plane of Divine Law is uplifted above all human authority, and cannot be reached by any act that can properly be called a Papal dispensation. The dispensing power of the Pope moves within the sphere of ecclesiastical—viz., human—or Church-made law. Things which are of Divine Law must remain for ever untouched and untouchable by it. While theologians and canonists thus affirm that the Pope has no power to change or dispense from Divine Law, they unanimously assert that he has power to interpret, and to declare it, and especially in cases of self-induced obligations, such as oaths or vows, to determine whether or not, having regard to equity and morality, the matter sworn or vowed is such as to lawfully fall under the Divine sanction, or at most to use that power which the old law gave to parents over the vows of their children. Thus, when a French king took an oath never to relinquish his claim to certain provinces, and when his observance of this oath was

found to be a bar to the peace and well-being of two Christian nations, and a perpetual cause of feud and bloodshed between them, the Apostolic See wisely judged that, in such circumstances, an oath of the kind could possess no binding power in the eyes of the God of peace and love, and declared the French king to be loosed from its obligation. In the same spirit Pope Leo III. wisely released our English king, Edward the Confessor, from his vow of pilgrimage to Rome, declaring that, in view of paramount interests, the safety and welfare of his nation, the God of wisdom could not bind him to the folly of endangering them. Such absolutions or dispensations are regarded not as relaxing the Divine Law which requires us to keep our lawful oaths and vows—which no Pope has ever called in question—but as judicial interpretations of the conditions under which, in this or that given instance, such obligations can be, consistently with the Divine Law itself, either validly contracted or licitly fulfilled. It is of this class of obligations, and not of absolute Divine commands or prohibitions, that certain mediæval Canonists speak when they say that the Pope cannot dispense in matters of Divine Law “without just cause.” Thus, Panormitanus says: “Observe that the Pope cannot attempt anything against what is of Divine institution.”* Felinus, the celebrated fifteenth century Canonist, expresses the same principle most clearly in his chapter *Quæ in Ecclesiæ* (De Constitutionibus), p. 134. But as it was not of self-induced obligations, but of absolute Divine prohibitions, that the Archbishop was speaking, the irrelevance of this aspect of Papal dispensing power becomes obvious.

As to the teaching of Catholic theology on this point no more representative witness can be cited than St. Thomas Aquinas, whose works have been so eloquently approved by Leo XIII.

He says :

The Pope possesses the plenitude of power in the Church in this way, that whatever is instituted by the Church or the prelates of the Church can be dispensed from by the Pope. For these are things which are said to be of human or positive law. But in those things which are of natural

* “Nota quod non potest Papa aliquid attentare contra Divinam dispositionem.” Super Primam Partem I. Decretal. De Summa Trinitate et Fide Cath., tom. i. p. 28.

or of Divine Law, the Pope cannot dispense, because these things have their binding force by Divine institution.—(Quaestiones Quodlibetae iv., Art. xiii.)

In another passage, speaking of Apostolic ordinances, he separates carefully what is of Divine institution from what is merely human, and affirms that when the Apostle “promulgates anything as of Divine Law, the Pope cannot dispense therefrom.”—(Quaestio lxiii.)

In his *Summa*, he lays down the principle which is axiomatic in Catholic theology. “The Natural and Divine Law proceeds from the Divine will . . . and thence can only be changed by God’s authority.” (1a. 2ae. 9, 97, a. 111.) He adds: “Divine command cannot be dispensed from.” (22ae. q. 89, Art. 9.)*

It is needless to say that the vast body of Catholic theologians are on this point at one with St. Thomas, and that what he taught in the thirteenth century, Suarez taught in the sixteenth, and St. Alphonsus in the eighteenth,† and Ballerini and Palmieri in the Gregorian University at Rome in our own day.

The testimony of the Canon Law is equally explicit.

Long before the Council of Trent great Canonists like Felinus Sandaeus and Nicholas de Tudeschi (better known as Panormitanus) had laid down the principle that the “Pope has

* St. Thomas says:—

“In the precepts of the Divine Law which proceed from God, no one can give a dispensation but God alone, or one whom God has specially commissioned.”—12ae q. 97, a. iv. ad 3^m.

“The Natural and Divine Law proceeds from the Divine will . . . thence it can be changed only by Divine authority.”—12ae q. 97, a. iii. ad 1^m.

“Divine precept is indispensable—i.e., cannot be dispensed from.”—22ae q. 89, a. 9, 1.

St. Thomas explains that dispensations from oaths and vows are never dispensations to break an oath or a vow, but by a dispensation that which was the object of the oath or the vow may cease to be legitimate matter for either. He admits that the Pope may commute the matter when legitimate to a higher good, in matters which pertain to the administration of Church affairs.

“When a prelate of the Church dispenses from a vow, he does not dispense from a precept of Divine or Natural Law, but he determines that which fell under the obligation of the human proposal, which could not take all things into account.”—2a 2ae q. 88, a. 10, ad 2^m.

He teaches that the obligation of a vow depends on its acceptance by God, and that the prelate, taking the place of God, can determine this acceptability. Thus the Pope as Vicar of Christ has the same control over the vowing will of his subjects as the old law gave to the father of a family. “He has the fulness of power in dispensing in all dispensable vows. He cannot prohibit vows which have for their object virtuous works.”—*Ibid*.

† Lib. vi. Tract. vi. Dub. iv. 1119, et seq.

no power to attempt anything contrary to Divine Law."—(Panormit. 1. p. 1 Decret. de Summa Trin.)

Augustine Barbosa, Bishop of Ugento and consultor of the Index in the sixteenth century, cites Pope Urban and a well-known passage of the Corpus Juris. (Pars ii. Decreti. c. xxv. 9, 1.), and teaches that "*in Divine laws a dispensation of the Pope is not admitted.*"

In his Collectanea Doctorum in Jus Pontificium Universum (Lyons, 1588) (Tom. v. p. 340 ; pars. ii. Dec. Causa, xxv. 9, 1) :

In Divine laws a dispensation of the Pope is not admitted, as is proved by Pope Urban in the above passage. (Pars ii. Decreti. Causa xxv. 9, 1.) The reason is that before an inferior can dispense in the law of a superior there must be a just cause, otherwise such action would be invalid. But in the Divine Law, no just cause can be available as the grounds of a dispensation, for the Most High God sees all cases and causes which could fall under that Divine Law, and the Divine will from which this kind of law emanates is altogether unchangeable. Whence it clearly follows that if in any given case It wills that its command should remain, it is most just that it should remain, and it cannot be just that it should be removed by an inferior, and consequently, a *dispensation which takes away the obligation of a divine law cannot be properly given by the Sovereign Pontiff.*

The same Barbosa, commenting on the saying of certain jurists that the Pope could dispense in Divine Law with just cause, states—(1) that their contention is based upon no solid arguments ; (2) that it is opposed to the plain principle of Canon Law, that the inferior cannot dissolve in any case the law of the superior, and concludes "Wherefore in it (the Divine Law), no Papal dispensation is admissible."

He adds :

But the Sovereign Pontiff can declare that on account of causes arising, in certain cases, the divine laws do not oblige, as when for instance a greater precept would be violated or good prevented ; for though the power of dispensing in matters of Divine Law cannot be conceded to the Sovereign Pontiff, the power of interpreting them cannot be denied to him . . . and therefore theologians grant to him the power of interpretation but not of dispensation.

In such cases he declares the general precept of Divine Law not to apply, "and in this sense we are to understand the doctors, who assert that the Sovereign Pontiff and princes to have authority to dispense in Divine Law, to refer not to

real dispensation, which is a relaxation of an obligatory law, but to a dispensation improperly so called, such as is a declaration."

"Hence, such a declaration or dispensation, improperly so called, if made without just cause, is invalid."—(Collectanea Doctorum in Par. ii. Decret. Causa xxv. Quaestio i.).

Lucius Ferraris, whose "*Bibliotheca Canonica*," is one of the best known standard works of reference on Canon Law, says :

The Pope, properly and strictly speaking, cannot dispense in Divine Law. This is the almost common opinion

Whence, the Pope cannot dispense against Divine Law or in Divine Law. First, because even as a vicar cannot do all that his principal can do, so the Pope, who is Vicar of Christ on earth, cannot do all that Christ can do—*e.g.*, to institute new sacraments, or abrogate the old, to permit simultaneous bigamy, or dissolve the vinculum of consummated matrimony, and such like. But the Pope can interpret the Divine Law, and declare in a given case that it does not oblige, as when from the observance of the Divine Law, something iniquitous would result, or a greater good would be prevented (Art. *Dispensatio*).

Reiffenstuel, the leading canonist of the last century, whose works were reprinted in 1831 under the imprimatur of the Papal Vicegerent and the sanction of the master of the Apostolic Palace, says :

The Pope cannot dispense in the impediments which invalidate matrimony by Natural or Divine Law. Nowhere, either in Holy Scripture or in the sacred Canons, or in the tradition or practice of the Church, or from any other source, is it to be found that God has granted to the Pope any power of dispensing in the impediments which nullify marriage by Natural or Divine Law (vol. v. p. 544).

He notes that although the Pope is Vicar of Christ he cannot be regarded as able to do all in such matters that Christ could do, and adds :

So far is this from being so that the Pope is not only bound to observe the Divine Law himself, but in the discharge of his pastoral office it is his duty to enjoin it even to the shedding of his blood and the laying down of his life (vol. i. p. 196).

Schmalzgrueber, the Jesuit Canonist whose monumental work on the Canon Law received the highest approval, says that the "doctrine which in agreement with St. Thomas denies that the Pope has any power to dispense in any matter of Divine Law,

is the general and most assured teaching of all authorities" (par. i. tit. ii., p. 225).

Finally, it is to be observed that Sanchez is perhaps the only theologian of any mark whose doctrine would even seem to approach the opposite contention. Sanchez taught that in some extreme and extraordinary case, in which no other remedy could be found, the Pope might be regarded as possessing from Christ by delegation the power to dispense in a matter of Divine Law. But even this exceptional theory would least of all help the contention of the Archbishop, for in the very matter of which the Archbishop was speaking—the Levitical impediments to marriage—Sanchez expressly repudiates the idea that the Pope can dispense in any of those which are of Divine or of Natural Law. "*It is most true,*" he says, "*that in no impediment which by Divine natural law invalidates marriage can the Pope dispense.*" "The reason is that there are divine laws in the Church, in which God has left no power of dispensation" (De Matrimonio. lib. viii. disp. vi.). In fact, he teaches that the very reason why the Pope dispenses in many of these impediments is that they are under the gospel not of divine, but of ecclesiastical law.*

* Sanchez (Lib. viii. de Dispensationibus, Disp. vi.) quotes the opinion "that the Pope can dispense in all Divine Law, except in Articles of Faith," and says that it "is absolutely opposed to truth, and to be rejected."

He states the second opinion :

"Since the Divine will, from which natural law proceeds, is immutable, dispensation can by no means have place therein" (in eam minimé cadet dispensatio).

As a third opinion :

He thinks it more probable that there are extraordinary and special cases of necessity in which the Pope may dispense from Divine and natural, and in which he may be regarded as holding from Almighty God the power so to do. He thinks also that dispensations from residence to bishops, and of communion in one kind, are examples of this licit dispensation of Divine Law. But speaking of matrimony he says :

"It is most true that in no impediment which by Divine natural law invalidates marriage can the Pope dispense."

"The reason is that there are divine laws in the Church in which God has left no power of dispensation."

He maintains that none of these grades of consanguinity and affinity is prohibited by Divine Law in the Christian dispensation, unless otherwise prohibited by the law of nature, and "therefore the Pope can dispense in all of them, except those in which, having regard to the law of nature, marriages cease." The only exceptions are parents and children in any degree, and brothers and sisters. Impediments of affinity are not of the law of nature.

The various cases on which Sanchez relies for his thesis as to the dispensing power, are examined and explained one by one by Ballarini in his recent work upon Busembaum (edit. Palmieri. vol. i. de Legibus, c. iv. 290, et seq.).

That which the Archbishop described as a "grave misapprehension," is indeed the standard teaching of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, to believe that it is a part of "the Papal claims," that "the Pope can dispense in matters forbidden by Divine Law," as the Archbishop maintained, would be not only a "grave misapprehension," but an utter travesty of Catholic law and theology.

Z.

P.S.—As a sample of the reckless and slanderous inaccuracy with which certain non-Catholic writers choose to treat questions of this kind, we may cite the following passage from an article in Smith and Cheetham's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities": "In the East, therefore, the once doubtful question of the remarriage of the innocent party after divorce, has been resolved in the affirmative; in the Latin Church, it has been determined in the negative, *except when a Papal dispensation has intervened which according to modern Roman theology makes all things possible and allowable*" (Art. "Marriage," vol. ii. p. 1113). So far is this from being the case that Catholic theologians, both modern and ancient, are unanimous in affirming that no Papal dispensation can ever dissolve the bond of valid marriage between those who have once lived together as husband and wife, and that whether divorced or undivorced, innocent or guilty, neither can marry again during the lifetime of the other.

ART. X.—SCIENCE IN FETTERS.

PART I.

PESSIMISM is, for us, not only a repugnant, but also an exceedingly unreasonable system of philosophy. The student of nature who has not convinced himself that pleasure and gladness do not far exceed pain and misery in the world of irrational life, has surely carried on his observations with a distorted mental vision. As to us men, while the use of our bodily and mental faculties remains unimpaired, existence must be a gain. We are, most of us, far too thankless for the many small and unobtrusive pleasures with which, on all sides, life abounds. Nevertheless, it is most true that, for very many, sorrow and suffering are a daily experience, while all of us have occasionally no trifling pang to undergo. Still for human, self-conscious beings there are, so long as they are rational, the abundant consolations which religion affords; so that no man in his senses—save in some stress of sudden passion—can seriously ask “Is life worth living?”

But if no reasonable being has a just cause to reproach the Almighty for having bestowed on him the gift of life, still, most certainly, we have not been born into “the best of all possible worlds.” Even though, unlike Alfonso the Wise, we know ourselves to be incapable of suggesting to the Creator improvements in the plan of the universe which He has seen fit to adopt, there can be no doubt that we may conceive of, as to various details, a better state of things for us here below—as regards our physical, moral and intellectual conditions—than has been actually granted to us.

We have no desire, however, to call attention here to any of our physical defects, but only to some intellectual consequences which necessarily result from our bodily and mental constitution.

It was a truth distinctly taught by the Scholastics—as readers of the DUBLIN know—that one consequence of our organisation (of our bifold material and intellectual nature) is the necessity of the presence of mental images derived from

our organs of sense (*phantasmata*) as a condition, *sine quâ non*, for every one of our intellectual perceptions, even the very highest.

Such perceptions require, in the first place, to have a basis prepared for them by the agency of that nervous substance which forms the dominant part of our material frame. They have, secondly, to be also sustained and supported by the play of the imagination which presents us with mental images (*phantasms*) that are but groups of reminiscences of past excitations of our organs of sense: in other words, they are plexuses of consciously or unconsciously remembered feelings.

For our nature is specially fitted to take note of those properties of objects, which are made known to us by our senses, and feels a peculiar ease and satisfaction in them, and in the imagination thereof. Higher, or reflex, abstract ideas are, on the contrary, apprehended with more or less difficulty.

Investigations concerning the collocations and conditions of these antecedent foundations of thought, constitute a most fascinating study which has been gradually developed through the concurrence of two factors: one of these (1) consists of the physiology of the nervous system, and especially of our various sense-organs; the other (2) is the study of the laws which govern the association of sensations, and that most modern branch of inquiry, experimental-psychology.

Together they constitute a science of the material instruments and means of thought—a science which seems to have a great future before it, and would deserve every encouragement did not its own abundant interest constitute encouragement enough.

But the study of thought itself—of the results which the just-mentioned instruments and means bring about—not only shows the necessity of phantasms of the imagination for intellectual activity, but also assigns to our powers of imagination, very distinct limits. The analysis of the mind—of our powers of imagination as reflected on by the intellect—demonstrates that we can imagine nothing except what our senses have previously experienced either as a whole, or in its constituent parts.

This is the meaning of the adage:

Nihil in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.

Our sense-impressions can alone furnish the basis on which

the intellect may build, and it can build nothing save, as above said, what, at least in its constituent parts, has a material basis in such sense-impressions.

Is it then the case that there is absolutely nothing in the intellect save what previously existed in our sensations?

To say this would be absurd indeed, and would amount to a denial of the distinctness of "ideas" (such as infinity, necessity, absolute being, possible being, existence, non-existence, truth, identity, reality, &c.) from "feelings."

The existence of an essential distinctness between "sensations" and "ideas," must here be taken for granted since we hope that we have demonstrated it with sufficient clearness elsewhere.*

Our feelings, though necessary antecedents and accompaniments of our ideas, are so far from containing the essential part of the latter, that we may also truly say :

Nihil in intellectu quod unquam fuerit in sensu.

Hence the extreme difference which exists between that which can be imagined, and that which can be conceived of but cannot be imagined.

Confusion between our faculties of imagination and conception is most common and most misleading, and a clear perception of their distinctness is a primary and indispensable requisite for any sound psychology.

We have no space, however, to devote to that subject here, and must again refer our readers to what we have elsewhere written.†

But few things are more common, even amongst thoughtful writers, than a confusion of the kind just referred to, a confusion between the sensuous basis and the intellectual results of thought, a confusion between the *means* and the *object* of perception.‡

Examples of this have again and again been furnished us by no less distinguished a writer than Mr. Herbert Spencer, and such mistakes in the very groundwork of his philosophy have been long ago pointed out by us in the pages of this review.§

* See "The Truth," Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., pp. 178-223.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 90-96.

§ See the DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1874, July 1875, Jan. and April 1877, Jan. and Oct. 1878, Jan. and April 1879, and a subsequent article. In the article

If such confusion of thought and so defective an analysis of our mental processes are to be met with in the writings of a psychologist and philosopher so highly-gifted, so generally well-informed, and so persevering and industrious, we have small cause to be surprised on finding similar errors amongst biologists or students of any one branch of science, whatever it may be.

A late very eminent and popular physicist has afforded us a striking example of an analogous error. Though it is most true, as already said, that no ideas can be entertained by us save by the aid of mental imagery, it would be most untrue and misleading to suppose that the very ideas themselves can be, and still more that they must be, truly represented by any mental pictures of them—that objective concepts beyond the apprehension of any sense-organ can be like a mere plexus of remembered sensations. What is immaterial, and therefore utterly imperceptible to our senses, obviously can never be truly represented by the repetition in the imagination of any group of sensations. Yet the late Professor Tyndall laid down that an ability to “mentally visualise” a conception is a necessary condition of our being certain of its truth. But to “mentally visualise” what is absolutely “invisible” would be a complete contradiction, and therefore any ability so to do must amount to a positive proof that the thing represented was not of the nature supposed. An endeavour so to represent it would be an attempt to make mental images of things imperceptible to the senses serve not as symbols, but as adequate representations, of things imperceptible to the senses and therefore essentially incapable of any such representation.

of Jan. 1879, p. 148, there will be found an account of the way in which Mr. Spencer confounds the means of the perception of extension with the idea of space. At p. 151 it is shown how the imaginative conditions of our idea of time are “the merest pegs” on which “hang our intellectual perceptions of the relations of the successions of objects and events.” At p. 157 is given the distinction between our intuitions of motion and the related sensations through which it is elicited.

“The radical fault of Mr. Spencer’s psychology is the endeavour to resolve our higher faculties with our lower; an endeavour as fundamentally irrational as it would be to represent adequately a Babylonian palace by the mention of nothing but its component bricks, an endeavour mischievous in the highest degree, since its success would be necessarily fatal at once to intellect, morality, and will. The first it misrepresents, the second it renders impossible, the third it speculatively denies the existence of, and tends, with fatal efficacy, to weaken and ultimately paralyse.”—DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1879, p. 369.

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Thus arises a form of error which paralyses the mental efforts of many men who aspire to higher knowledge, and truly puts fetters on Science. Not, of course, that it fetters mere empirical science which can get on in its own line amidst very imperfect and even contradictory philosophical notions the implications of which are not realised. But it holds in bondage all attempts to master science *par excellence* and to comprehend in a truly rational manner the facts which nature presents for our examination.

The inability to distinguish imagination from intellectual conception always results in a disinclination, and often in a positive refusal to accept as true anything which tends to disturb mental images which have long been habitually entertained. Its evil effects extend over the whole field of thought not only degrading the higher conceptions of the biologist and physicist, but even acting very prejudicially on some philosophers and divines.

It may be well, however, to commence our brief survey of such prejudices by considering some difficulties thence arising in the higher fields of biological science.

For this purpose it is needful to begin with what is most evidently known to us of all those facts which concern the science of living things.

Obviously no living things can be so well known to us as our own selves. Now the most certain facts known to us as regards ourselves are : that we think ; can know with certainty we are thinking ; can know some of our past as well as our present thought, and that we can consider and reconsider our thoughts in various groups and in different orders, passing them in review, as it were, before a present consciousness.

Another certain fact known to us is that we are a living material, extended substance which we know as "our body," and that many material bodies exist around us which, like it, are the seat of various merely mechanical and unintelligent forces.

Bearing in mind these two facts, it becomes obvious that, as we have before observed,* the force which energises in our consciousness is

* We here purposely leave out of account all kinds of idealism which are, for us, but so many forms of lunacy. To regard all bodies as but plexuses of feelings, and the written and spoken discourses of other men but as diverse

a continuously persisting principle, conscious of successive objects and events, and capable of holding them before it in one conception as members of a series every part of which it transcends; such a principle, aware of the kinds and directions of its own intellectual activities, consciously present to them and capable of reviewing its own states and external objects and events in various orders, cannot itself be multitudinous, but must be as much a unity as possible—that is a simple unity.”*

Moreover, this principle, as it is capable of knowing absolute and necessary truth (*e.g.* that nothing can, at the same time, both be and not be and that some actions are more morally worthy than others), must be something altogether different from what we apprehend as material, extended substance, or as merely physical force. If then we have (as is certainly the case) any knowledge at all of material bodies and physical forces, it is *absolutely certain* that this intellectual persistent principle is neither the one nor the other, but stands in the strongest contrast to both, and that which is in the strongest contrast to the material and physical, is the immaterial and psychical.

We do not mean that we are conscious of anything within our body and distinct from it, but that we are conscious, on reflexion, of being *both* a material extended substance and an immaterial persistent energy. We are conscious that we are one being with a bifold unity—one body and one immaterial principle forming an absolute unity possessing two sets of faculties. Our being is thus seen to have its static and dynamic aspects; it is material and physical in one aspect, immaterial and intelligent in the other aspect, and it is the latter aspect of our being we speak of as the *Soul*, the *Anima*, the *Psyche*.

Here then is one great fact which is absolutely certain and evident. No certainty we can attain to about any other object can be nearly so certain as is this truth. It is the primary and highest truth of biological science.

The late Professor Tyndall argued† against the Conception

her plexuses of feelings, whether our own, the feelings of another being, or feelings not regarded as pertaining to any entity but simply as feelings absolutely, is but one instance of mistaking the means for the object of knowledge.

* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1889, p. 275.

† See the *Fortnightly Review*, November 1877. “Try to mentally visualise it,” he tells us, “and the difficulty immediately appears.”

of a human soul, on the ground of his before-referred-to principle of mental visualisation—as if the invisible were necessarily the incredible!

Of course we cannot think of the “soul,” except by the aid of some sensuous symbol such as the breath, air, or vapour in human shape, &c. ; just as we cannot think of “God” without the mental image of an old man, or light from a cloud, or an eye in a triangle, or the letters or sounds which express the word. But, also of course, we do not think that the objective reality in either case is really like the symbol made use of to enable us to think of that reality, and the knowledge that the symbol cannot be like that reality, in no way impairs the effect of the idea of God, on our emotions, thoughts, or acts of will.

Now it is this very mistake of the school to which Professor Tyndall belonged—the mistake of fettering the intellect through the imagination—which bars the way to the acceptance of the most rational conception attainable concerning the nature of non-rational living creatures. And here we may see one instance of the great value of our knowledge of our own bifold being. The knowledge of that absolutely certain and evident fact is far-reaching in its consequences.

For since animals resemble man in various degrees, it is reasonable to suppose that they also have a twofold nature. It is reasonable to suppose that they each consist of an extended material body, which is absolutely one with an immanent, immaterial energy, however different from that of man in power and faculty. Nor is it possible to draw a hard and fast line between the higher and the lower animals, or between the latter and the world of plants. Nor, again, do the obvious and enormous differences which exist between our intellectual powers and the highest energies of the vegetable world, constitute any insuperable barrier to the existence of an immanent, immaterial, dynamic principle as the essence of every living organism, from the lowest plant to the highest animal—that is, man.

The differences referred to may be seen not to constitute any such barrier, because, by the combined aid of psychology and physiology, a very remarkable truth is borne in on us.

Of very much which this dynamic agency, this immanent energy of ours can accomplish, we are directly conscious. We are conscious of our voluntary actions, our thoughts, emotions,

and sensations. But its action gradually shades off into activities of which we are entirely unconscious.

It is, therefore, easily conceivable that: (1) Many organisms exist—such as the higher animals—which differ from ourselves merely by the fact that the dynamic force of theirs does not give rise to reflex self-consciousness; (2) that other organisms—such as some of the lower animals—possessing full powers of feeling, may be destitute of imagination and devoid of emotion, and lastly (3) that there are many others—plants—in which the immanent energy does not result even in sensation, as is the case with ourselves in the action of our soul, or *anima*, in the intimate processes of assimilation and growth, to say nothing of an enormous number of other merely corporeal functions.

That each living organism, in addition to those properties whereof our senses inform us, also consists of an immanent dynamic principle of individuation* or *anima*, is a fact whereof, in our own case, our reflective reason can assure us, though it necessarily escapes the cognisance of our senses. Only thus can we understand how an animal synthesises, in one psychical act, a multitude of impressions made simultaneously and successively upon its various organs of sense.

This view, at once popular and scientific, is rapidly gaining ground amongst modern thinkers, and, if not distinctly accepted by, is, at least unconsciously, receiving the sanction of a fast-augmenting number of modern physiologists, as we shall shortly see.

As to philosophers, Herman Lotze, a man quite free from theological prepossessions, has been forced, by the patient exercise of his unprejudiced reason, to affirm the existence of such an immanent, immaterial principle in each living being, though,

* By this term "a principle of individuation," it is intended to denote an active immaterial principle which unifies all an organism's activities, presides over its vital processes in general, governing those of its development from the germ (its *ontogeny*) and (as we believe) those of its gradual evolution as "a new species" (its *phylogeny*). It that sense, therefore, it pertains to what was termed "the form" by the Scholastics. They used the term "principle of individuation," however, in a different sense to that in which it is here employed. They used it to denote the "matter," the extension of which occasioned the multiplication of the different individual existences of the "form"—as a sheet of wax may be the occasion for the multiplication of individual impressions of a seal which is repeatedly impressed on its extended surface.

as he says, we can as little imagine such a thing as we can imagine "how things look in the dark."

But when we recollect how impossible it is for us, in *any* line of thought, to dispense with material images as aids to our powers of conception, it is easy to understand how exceptionally difficult it must be for physicists to shake themselves free of the mental fetters which the unconscious use of such images tends to impose.

And it is especially what is visible and tangible which comes home most readily to the imagination, and vague internal feelings are always described in terms of sight or touch. Thus we often speak of a "*gnawing*" pain, a "*sharp*" pain, "*like a knife*"; a "*rough*" taste, and even a "*bright*" intellect, or a "*hard*" heart.

It is by no means wonderful, then, that biologists, who are necessarily deeply immersed in matters of sense, should view with disfavour an explanation they cannot picture to their mental eye. Indeed, the soul of each man cannot be directly apprehended by him in its substance; for it is only directly cognisable by us in and through our activity—what we do or suffer.

Men not well versed in the distinction between feelings and thoughts, and who think of the soul by the aid of some mental image (of a vapour in human form, or what not), without apprehending its utter distinctness from the idea it supports, not unnaturally imagine that upholders of the truth of the soul's existence also believe that it is like the symbols they use with respect to it, and therefore regard such men with quite undeserved contempt.* They mistakenly credit *Intellectualists* with their own folly as *Sensists*!

Physiologists are also naturally indisposed to accept as a truth the doctrine which proclaims the existence of such an immanent, immaterial energy, because such a conception has been of little use in the progress of physiology. The wonderful discoveries which modern research has made, have been made, not by investigations concerning such an agency, but by the application to the study of living nature of the previously-ascertained

* A quite remarkable example of this curious mistake has just been afforded us by Professor Haeckel, who, in his small book entitled "*Monism*" (p. 49), speaks of the soul as being thought of as "*aerial or gaseous*."

laws of physics and chemistry. This century's discoveries concerning digestion, respiration, the movements of nutritive fluids, secretion, &c., have all been made by the application of physics, including chemistry, to the investigation of the phenomena of life. Physical investigators have been compelled to make use of mechanical images, and no blame can attach to them for following the path they have followed, and we should gratefully accept truth which has thus been gained. Nevertheless, this practical need has led to much theoretic exaggeration. Thus Kirchenhöf proclaimed that "the highest object at which the natural sciences are constrained to aim, is the reduction of all the phenomena of nature to mechanics"; and Helmholtz, that their object was "to resolve themselves into mechanics." Wundt has declared "the problem of physiology" to be "a reduction of vital phenomena to general physical laws, and ultimately to the fundamental laws of mechanics." Huxley teaches a similar doctrine, while Haeckel has said that "all natural phenomena, without exception, from the motions of the celestial bodies to the growth of plants and the consciousness of man, . . . are ultimately to be reduced to atomic mechanics."

But science should be complete, *teres atque rotunda*, and all subordinate departments of science should be controlled and made to harmonise with what is absolutely the most evident and certain—what is *supremely* scientific. As we have seen, what is thus most evident and certain, is our own bifold nature and the dominance therein of one immanent dynamic principle; while the most reasonable inference with regard to other living things is that they have a similar essentially bifold being, the dynamic principle (or form) whereof is likewise dominant and directive. This ultimate truth biologists are bound to recognise, even while doing their best to explain mechanically or chemically whatever can possibly be so explained.

And the resistless logic of facts is fast driving them, and will ultimately compel them, struggle as they may, to recognise the truth, and adore what they have scorned if not scoffed at.

Professor Bardon Sanderson,* for example, has expressed himself as follows :

"Thirty years ago the discovery of the cell seemed to be a very near

* At the meeting of the British Association at Newcastle, 1889.

approach to the mechanism of life, but now we are striving to get even closer, and with the same results. Our methods bring us to closer quarters with phenomena which, although within reach of exact investigation, are, as regards their essence, involved in a mystery which is the more profound the more it is brought into contrast with the exact knowledge we possess of surrounding conditions."

Lord Kelvin, now President of the Royal Society, has recently declared* that

"the influence of animal or vegetable life on matter is infinitely beyond the range of any scientific inquiry hitherto entered on . . . in the growth of generation after generation of plants from a single seed, is infinitely different from any possible result of the fortuitous concourse of atoms."

The able botanist, Haustein, tells us† that there is inherent in living organisms some special formative power (*Eigengestaltungskraft*), quite different from inorganic forces, and declares that so long as it is true science to affirm that different effects must have different causes, it cannot be legitimately maintained that the formative processes of organisms which are seen constantly to strive toward some predetermined end are nothing but the combined effects of forces inherent in atoms and active as rays or vibrations. The pathologist Rindfleisch and the botanist Kerner von Marilaun, have put forth similar views, and Bunge has done so even more distinctly.‡

In spite of the progress of physiology in the nineteenth century, it has not advanced one step towards explaining mechanically the vital action of living organisms. How the elements of our nerves and muscles really act remains absolutely unknown, and the intimate activity of our organs of sense is not a whit less mysterious to us than it was to the contemporaries of Aristotle!

Thus it is that men who are purely and simply biologists are being rapidly compelled by their own science of physiology to recognise a fundamental, natural truth quite beyond the range of the imagination, namely, the real existence and directive agency of a principle which can be recognised

* In an article on the "Dissipation of Energy," *Fortnightly Review*, 1892.

† *Das Protoplasma als Träger der pflanzlichen und thierischen Lebensverrichtungen*. Heidelberg, 1880.

‡ *Lehrbuch der physiologischen und pathologischen Chemie*. Second edition, 1889.

distinctly by the intellect, but is for ever hidden from perception by the senses.

We have above spoken of "intellectualists" and "sensists," and it may be well to declare distinctly what we mean by those terms.

Men who, like Professor Karl Pearson, declare that we can know nothing but feelings—"sense-impressions, and sense-impresses"—received, associated, remembered, &c., make their ultimate appeal to the senses, and so may justly be spoken of as "sensists," and their system as *sensism*.

Those who agree with us in loudly affirming that every human conception contains what is altogether beyond sense* make their ultimate appeal, not to the senses, but to the intellect, and they may therefore be distinguished as "intellectualists," and their system as *intellectualism*.

Amongst the supersensuous truths the intellect recognises are four supereminent ones, namely: (1) our own substantial, continuous existence; (2) the trustworthiness of the faculty of memory; (3) our power to apprehend with certainty some necessary conditions and relations between things in themselves, independently of our knowledge of, or feelings concerning, such things; and (4) that whatever logically follows from premisses which are evidently true, must be likewise evidently true.

Unless we know these things science is logically impossible, and any scientific man who denies them, either deceives himself or seeks to deceive others.

No more glaring example of such deception, and of the self-stultification induced by "sensism," could well be selected than that presented by the writings of Professor Karl Pearson. His little book, "The Grammar of Science," is an elaborate attempt to describe some of the elementary facts and laws of physics in terms of phenomena, *i.e.*, in terms signifying groups of "feelings," without asserting, or, according to his intention, implying the existence of anything beyond feeling. It is therefore a systematic and sustained effort to produce a consistent and harmonious work of unreason, and, as a necessary consequence, is a failure as conspicuous as it is elaborate. His

* See our work "The Origin of Human Reason," Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., p. 280.

repeated self-contradictions are curious. He professes much contempt for metaphysics and metaphysicians, and yet this book of his is really a metaphysical treatise, and if it be—as we have no doubt is the case—honest and sincere, he shows himself with amusing unconsciousness* to be, after all, a metaphysician, *malgré lui!*

He is an idealist, and dogmatically affirms (p. 130) that “the mind is absolutely confined within its nerve-exchange; beyond the walls of sense-impression it can logically infer nothing.”

If, however, the Professor thinks he can know nothing but his own feelings, how can he venture to tell us about their mode of formation or the processes by which one group of feelings acts on another? Yet as to a sensory nerve, he tells us (p. 51) that “the manner in which this nerve conveys its message is, without doubt, physical.” Stars are for him but “groups of feelings,” and yet he writes: “Among the myriad planetary systems, we see on a clear night, there must be myriad planets which have reached our own stage of development, and teem, or have teemed, with human life” (p. 179). He also speaks of long stages of development as having probably preceded the existence of protoplasm, and “of the millions of years, with complex and varying conditions of temperature,” needed in order “to pass from the chemical substance of life to that complex structure which may have been the first stage of organic being.” He also declares (p. 425) his own “unswerving belief that the evolution of organic nature is at the basis of human history.”

The fact is Karl Pearson’s idealism is, no doubt unconsciously, an idealism of parade, to be brought out occasionally (above all to confound some intellectualist or advocate of common sense), but ordinarily to be ignored in favour of practical materialism. To the vulgar a doctrine is presented, which, as understood and accepted by them, is truly materialistic, while, to opponents of materialism, it is offered in terms of idealism.

* With great *naïveté* he ridicules Professor Tait for being in the very same case, calling him (p. 296) “the unconscious metaphysician who groups sense-impressions and supposes them to flow as properties from something beyond the sphere of perception,” and we are also told that “the unconscious metaphysics of Professor Tait occur on nearly every page of his treatment of the fundamental concepts of physical science.”

This jugglery may well be termed* intellectual thimble-rigging.

But Karl Pearson's mental attitude, and the strong bent of his will, have quite lately been very forcibly portrayed in his recent article,† entitled "Politics and Science," wherein he attacks Lords Salisbury and Kelvin. He plainly shows, however, that what most enrages him is the revival of religious belief, whatever may be its form. The intensity of his ire may be judged by his suggestion that some of the scientific auditors of Lord Salisbury's Oxford address may‡ "have tingled for cremation."

He shows himself strangely unacquainted with what the Catholic position is, but his mistakes are by no means confined to matters of religion, and would, if consistently followed out, be fatal to science and human welfare, quite apart from any question of revelation, and would be so even if the Christian religion had never existed, or had utterly disappeared.

Nevertheless, it may be well, in passing, to say a few words in this review, with respect to his attitude towards religion, before proceeding to show how his ideas, and the convictions he puts forward, tend to bind and fetter science in adamantine bonds.

He shows, indeed, an ignorance which we cannot help thinking culpable (for a man should inform himself concerning anything he attacks and denounces) about Catholicism, and there is hardly a sentence of his referring to religion which can be accepted without protest.

Pre-Reformation Catholicism he stigmatises as the "old bigotry," while "new bigotry" is the term he applies to the modern revival of religion.

He compares modern men of science of his own school to the humanists of the sixteenth century. The comparison is apt inasmuch as there has been amongst both an unmistakable manifestation of a spirit of irreligion which made them very regardless of the consequences of their words on the mass of their contemporaries. But his historical implications seem to us much mistaken. The official head of what Karl Pearson calls

* See "On Truth," p. 135.

† In the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1894, p. 335.

‡ P. 348.

"the old bigotry" cordially favoured the renaissance, though Protestantism did not, and the humanists had small right to complain of Catholic authority, which for so long a time was wonderfully tolerant of their impious antics.

With reference to the revival of religion in our own day, he says,* of what he calls "the theological party," that "it has been steadily reconstituting itself since its complete discomfiture at the hands of the historical and natural sciences." Now, as regards Catholics, certain conditions and distinctions have always to be borne in mind. Catholics make no claim to be exempt from the general conditions of humanity or from the resulting danger of mistaking their own mere imaginings—the mental pictures which their various antecedents have caused them to form—for accurate representations of truths for the apprehension of which such images have served as *phantasmata*. The discovery of new scientific facts may therefore be very reasonably expected to cause a corresponding temporary *malaise*, from the necessity they may occasion of substituting a new mental picture for an old one, although the new one, no more than the old one, truly corresponds with objective reality. In retreating from old imaginative standpoints, there need be no abandonment whatever of the truth the old imagination had served to make easily tenable. He says that the

"theological party" "passes lightly from the true *ignoramus!* of science to the *ignorabimus* of pseudo-science, and thence by an easy stage, the illogic of which is scarcely noticed by the untrained mind, to the characteristic theological *Credendum est!* . . . natural selection has not been proved up to the hilt, *ergo* benevolent design, and an ever-acting Creator and Ruler are shown us with an irresistible force."

This is a fair example of Karl Pearson's sarcasm. Of course he does not, or will not, see that the conclusion is not an absurd inference from ignorance to knowledge, but a perception of the evident results of universal, necessary truths, above all that of causation, as applied to the consideration of a world wherein intellect and moral perception exist as they do in mankind. He continues :

"This apparent reconciliation of religion and science is accompanied by a nebular theology, which is quite unassailable, because it disclaims

* P. 338.

all written creeds and bases itself upon no definite passages of any inspired book."

This is too ludicrous in the face of the Athanasian Creed, and that of St. Pius the Fifth. Are not they written ones? Are not such passages of an inspired book as "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," and "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," appealed to by teachers of the Catholic Church? As the author most truly, says, "there is a *non sequitur* at every turn," but such are to be found in the writings of the author himself. He speaks indeed of "ingrained prejudice" as "characteristic of the theological school" (p. 347), but certainly it would be difficult to find a more apparently "ingrained prejudice" than that which characterises Karl Pearson.

The succeeding passage is a choice example of confusion of thought and complete ignorance of the standpoint of those he may regard as his special enemies:

"The next stage," he declares, "in the process of reaction is, as of old, to claim for religion a monopoly of the moral basis, and hence, by an easy paralogism, a monopoly of morality; . . . thus it is argued that naturalism can provide no basis for ethics."

But our readers know well enough that Catholic morality is based on reason; on the intellect's intuitions in the domain of ethics, and that it does not depend upon the Will of God, though revealed religion gives to it a support and assistance of unspeakable value.

Great is his indignation that reason should, in this department of knowledge, be allowed even a hearing by any physicist. The fact that "scientific journals not only deign to discuss, but even praise" works even faintly supporting the claims of religion enrages him. With lofty superiority, he tells us they "ought to have been sternly repudiated at their first appearance."

He is indignant, also, at any statement of the plain fact "that naturalism* can provide no basis for ethics." This, as he

* As he repudiates the objective validity of all absolute necessary truths, he does not include under "naturalism" man's natural power of intueing truths of such a character.

most truly says, Mr. Balfour has demonstrated, and we humbly hope we have also aided * in making that truth evident.

It is natural that he should complain of "the appearance of criminal anarchists of the type of Caserio and Vaillant" being attributed to materialism, and the ethical system favoured by his own school.†

According to the Catholic teaching, the greatest of all sins is the sin of pride. We do not by any means accuse the Professor of this vice, but it is impossible for anyone to be blind to the seemingly overbearing arrogance with which he writes.

As to the malefactors he refers to, there can be no doubt that materialism, irreligion, and pride are their common characteristics. In the same number of the *Fortnightly Review* wherein Professor Pearson's article appears, and in juxtaposition therewith, our readers will find a graphic description of such criminals by one who knows them well—Charles Malato.‡

He tells us that Ravachol had a "*proud* expression of face" and "died with sincere faith in his own righteousness," "holding his head high and menacingly." He speaks of Vaillant "repressing his rebellious pride." Emile Henry was *proud* even as a boy, while as a man he was *very proud*. "The thought that he" had killed the six policemen "filled him with a *proud* satisfaction," and he was "supreme in his cold *hauteur*." No excuse can be offered for this mean wretch on account of love for the poor, since § "he felt a marked estrangement from the ignorant and servile plebs."

* See "On Truth," pp. 243-255.

† We read with much pleasure in note on p. 338 that we may expect something from him on "the relation of rationalism with ethics." If we find on its perusal we have done him the smallest injustice, we will most gladly apologise and confess our faults towards him, feeling also most sincere regret for the same.

‡ The publication of his article in such a periodical is very remarkable, and a very sinister sign of the times. Some extenuation might be urged for criminals carried away by a pure passion for what they deem the good of other men and women. But Faure is therein characterised as "the Lovelace of Anarchy," and though Malato admits that Ravachol coined, robbed, murdered a helpless old man, and violated a tomb, yet he "much prefers" him to Titus, Turenne, or the Marquis de Gallifet, though he deprecates his beatification by another Anarchist under the horribly revolting title "Ravachol-Jesus." After recounting the brutal murder of six innocent men by the miscreant Henry, its anniversary is cynically spoken of as that of "the dancing lesson," and this, though a somewhat rough handling of revolutionists who were assembled under the red flag, is characterised as "an outrage on humanity!"

§ P. 332.

Vaillant's bombastic tirade delivered as his defence shows the relation too often existing between anarchical principles and a smattering of materialistic scientific teaching. He addressed his judges as follows :

"Ah, gentlemen, of how little account are your assembly and your verdict in the history of humanity, and of how little account, too, is humanity in the vortex which is carrying it through immensity, where it is doomed to vanish, or rather to be transformed, in order to recommence the same history and the same acts, by reason of the eternal play of the cosmic forces which are renewed and transformed to infinity."

This speech may bring before the minds of many persons another wherein we heard of "the infinite azure of the past."

It would of course be even more cruelly unjust than manifestly absurd to connect the name of any eminent man of science with anarchism in the sense of implying any indifference of mind on his part to such anti-social wickedness. But it is impossible to deny that the *principles* adopted by not a few such men necessarily tend to develop anarchism. Poor Mr. Herbert Spencer had not long ago to protest against his own name being coupled therewith; and with good reason, seeing the excellent service he had lately done to political conservatism. Yet the anarchists themselves, and they surely ought to know the fountains at which they have drunk, take a different view. Charles Malato himself couples together * the teachings of "Prudhom, Karl Marx, Spencer, and Krapotkine." In spite of themselves all utilitarian moralists, even though of the school of Herbert Spencer, cannot, struggle as they may, hinder the evil effects of their principles; and Mr. Kidd has well shown the inevitable outcome of materialism to be social anarchy. Also when once men are thoroughly convinced that there is no happiness possible for them save in this life, a vast multitude will be led to snatch at all the pleasure they can attain here and now, regardless of the calamities, to others, their acts may afterwards bring about.

Materialism and anarchy are indeed, it were, but the two opposite faces of one shield, and the proud, arrogant spirit which some scientific writers have displayed cannot but call to mind the proud feelings of Mr. Malato's friends and associates.

* P. 323.

But we can well understand how the reaction sure to be brought about by the anarchical results of such teaching must be alike distasteful to the two contiguous authors in the *Fortnightly Review* referred to, widely as they differ.

Mr. Karl Pearson laments* the present time "when everything spells REACTION." "Some readers," he says, may think "he overrates" the danger of the *reaction* "which is spreading among us; . . . they have but a very imperfect appreciation of the forces of *reaction* at present at work," which are "noticeable on every side." It is pleasant to read these consoling words and we are grateful to the Professor for them.

Mr. Pearson is very angry with Lord Salisbury because he has said that few men "would fancy that the laboratory or the microscope could help them to penetrate the mysteries which hang over the nature and the destiny of the soul of man," and he indignantly exclaims:†

"What man thinks of the destinies of his soul, and of his own relations to the cosmos, will be inevitably influenced by what the physicist and the biologist tell him of the probable past and future of the Universe . . . If few men recognise how physical research has moulded and is moulding religious belief, it is simply because few study the history of religious thought. If the theology of to-day escapes the critical influence of microscope and laboratory, it is simply because its doctrines are so nebulous, its nature so perturbed, that no definite theogenetic or cosmogenetic fact is allowed to crystallise out."

To all this there is a very short reply: no one disputes that advance in science can change and has changed, as age has succeeded age, the mere mental pictures, the phantasms of the imagination which have served to support intellectual concepts as to dogmas, but such changes are of no importance whatever, and leave articles of faith utterly unchanged for the intellect.

Were the material universe of the imaginable vastness we now attribute to it, or were it only of the size attributed to it, say in the ninth century, makes not the slightest difference to the dogmas of creation, the moral condition of man, his salvation through God's incarnation, and the eternal future in store for him. So again, whether the organic world was created in two days, or has been evolved by the aid of "natural selection"

* P. 336.

† P. 340.

through billions of billions of years, is a matter of no consequence whatever to the Catholic Christian as such.

It is the slavery of the imagination and nothing else (ethics apart) which prevents men like Karl Pearson from seeing this most obvious truth, and it is a bondage of the imagination in the opposite direction which has caused and causes good Christians to be troubled when called on by God's natural revelation, through physical science, to adjust their mental pictures in accordance therewith. Hence the vain and empty shouts of triumph of the unbelievers, and hence also the sighs and plaints of believers who possess minds of small flexibility.

Professor Pearson will hardly, we think, on reflection, venture to call the doctrine taught by the creed of St. Pius V. "nebulous," nor affirm that the doctrines of absolute creation and the Incarnation are not given as "cosmogenetic and theogenetic facts."

The Professor energetically repudiates the "old bigotry" of Moleschott and Büchner, who would explain the whole universe by matter and force. This is very natural on the part of an adept of the "new bigotry," which would explain the universe not by the frank materialism of the authors last named, but by a professed idealism which is a materialism disguised and disavowed—a process we have already characterised. Here, for the present, we bid adieu to Mr. Karl Pearson. Our object has only been to make use of him as an excellent example of the fettering action on science of a slavery to the imagination.

Other examples are such biological speculators as Darwin, Weismann, Nägeli, Whitman, &c., who have supposed the existence of a variety of oddly-named imaginary particles* as the

* Such as the "gemmules" (of Darwin); "idants," "ids," "determinants," "biophors" (of Weismann); "micellæ" (of Nägeli); "plastidules" (of Elsberg and Haeckel); "inotagnata" (of Th. Engelman); "pangenes" (of de Vries); "plasomes" (of Wiesner); "physiological units" (of Herbert Spencer); "idiosomes" (of Whitman); &c. Professor Oscar Hertwig, however, has suggested (*Zeit und Streitpagen der Biologie*, Jena, 1894) a specific "plasm" of the parent organism, not built up of determinants. He makes no supposition as to the physical nature of this specific, but, coining a new word, *incipia*, suggests that they grow and develop only in the presence of numerous external conditions and stimuli. This hypothetical, non-materially presented "plasm" may really represent the *psyche* or *anima* which this author blindly and unconsciously seeks. Of course no one pretends that such dynamic principle of individuation can produce its normal results save under the needful conditions and the action of appropriate stimuli.

explanation of the vital processes of organisms, especially of their transmission of parental characters to offspring.

When carefully considered, however, each of these particles will be found no less to need explanation than do the phenomena they are called on to explain. The difficulty is in no way diminished, but simply moved further back. However we may minimise or subdivide such supposed material elements, the same difficulty will ever recur. Each such imagined particle will itself be found to be but an organism "writ-small."

On the other hand, the conception of an immaterial, immanent, dynamic principle of individuation, is the only really satisfactory explanation of the phenomena of organic life. Bearing in mind what we have seen to be most certain with respect to ourselves, it is plain that no one can deny that such a principle is a *vera causa*, evident to the intellect, though utterly beyond all our powers of imagination.

The objections which have been brought against it, and the prejudices which oppose its reception, are solely due to the fettering action of sensuous mental images, and the mistaken supposition that its asserters regard as objective truths and adequate representations the phantasms which necessarily accompany and support the intellectual conception referred to.

By the *anima*, we of course mean the "form" of Aristotle, and the Scholastics, as to which both St. Thomas and Scotus affirm that it *dat esse rei, dat distingui, dat nominari*, and thus it constitutes the very essence of each living organism.

This essential constituent of each such creature, which, under due conditions, makes it what it is to be—though due, of course, ultimately to a Divine act—is mediately due to the action of those powers which have been implanted by God in Nature, and which by their activity evolve it.

In the next part of this article we propose to pass from the consideration of the fettering effects of the imagination as herein considered with respect to biology, to its analogous influence on physics, and as the occasion of difficulties which many persons feel with respect to religious dogmas.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

Science Notices.

London Coal Gas.—Professor Vivian B. Lewis, the superintendent gas examiner to the Corporation of London, has recently made public some facts concerning the London gas supply which up to the present time have not been generally known to the consumer.

It appears to have been supposed that, while the price of gas has been falling, its light-giving qualities have been improving. This, however, is a fallacy. It is true that since 1850, when attention was first paid to the illuminating value of the gas supply of the Metropolis, certain Acts have changed the standard of London gas from a light of twelve candles to sixteen candles, but it must be remembered that the light emitted from a gas flame depends upon the form of burner used, and the difference in the candle-power now supplied is in reality due to the improved standard burners used for gas testing. In 1850 the standard testing burner was the 15-hole Argand. In 1864 this was replaced by a 15-hole stealite burner, which so increases the temperature of the flame as to develop 11 per cent. more light. In 1869 the London Argand 24-hole burner was used. This still further increased the light to over 19 per cent.

There is another fact concerning the gas supply which is very important for the consumer to know. Since 1850 there has been a distinct change in the proportions in which certain constituents of gas exist. The constituents of coal gas can be divided into three classes: 1. Those which give the flame its illuminating properties; 2. The combustible diluents which give size and body to the flame; 3. Certain impurities. The constituents which give the luminous qualities are the unsaturated hydrocarbons. The combustible diluents consist of the saturated hydrocarbon methane, hydrogen, and carbon monoxide. Recent examination has shown that the hydrogen is now nearly 6 per cent. higher than it was in 1884, the carbon monoxide is over 3 per cent. higher, while the saturated hydrocarbons are 5 per cent. lower. This has no practical effect upon the illuminating power, but the change in quantities of these constituents has produced a curious phenomenon in the size of the flame. About eighteen months ago Professor Lewis's attention was called to the fact that many consumers in the city found that their gas bills were considerably increased without any corresponding increase in the

number of burners they used or in the time during which the gas was burnt. The Corporation Committee for county purposes gave the Professor the task of unravelling the mystery. For long he was puzzled, but at last he discovered the cause. It is that of late years the height of the flame necessary to produce sixteen candles has decreased in size. Three years ago the flame of a London standard Argand burning sixteen-candle coal gas at the rate of 5 cubic feet an hour was exactly 3 inches in height. Now, however, the flame under the same conditions is only 2·6 inches. This result is caused by the alteration in the proportions of the constituents of the gas. The height of the flame entirely depends upon these constituents. Hydrogen gives an excessively short flame, while methane or marsh gas will give a flame four times as long, when burning at an equal rate of glow. Carbon monoxide gives a flame intermediate between the two. The exact height of a hydrogen flame burning at the rate of 5 cubic feet per hour in a London Argand burner is 0·985 inch, that of carbon monoxide is 2·206 inches, that of methane 4·25 inches. The professor concludes that it is evident that the increase in the quantities of hydrogen and carbon monoxide during late years in London coal gas and the decrease of methane is responsible for the alteration in the size of the flame. When the consumer lights his gas burner he is apt to turn on the gas until he obtains the largest possible flame without roaring or smoking. Owing to the alteration in the quantities of the constituents of the gas he uses much more than before. If he wants to find his gas bill as it was a few years back he must study the size of his flame. It would be a kindly action on the part of gas companies to officially inform users of the effects of the alteration—viz., they now can obtain the same amount of light as formerly with a smaller flame.

There appear to be two causes for the alteration in composition :
1. At the Metropolitan gas works it is now usual to employ higher retort temperatures than were formerly used. This has decreased the percentage of hydrogen in the gas supplied by the Gas Light and Coke Company and the South Metropolitan and Commercial Companies. 2. The gas supplied by the London Gas Light and Coke Company has been affected in composition by one of the methods of enrichment they adopt. As is well known, the gas supplied by the London gas companies is continually being subjected to photometric tests at stations spread over the whole area supplied. Any falling short of the specific illuminating power is penal. The gas made from Seaborne and Durham coal, which is the kind generally used in the Metropolis, gives only fifteen candles. As, to ensure the illuminating power being up to the standard, the gas has to be

sent out from the works tested up to some seventeen candles it is necessary to have some process of enriching it from two to two-and-a-half candles. The enrichment is accomplished in various ways : 1. By the admixture of a certain percentage of Cannel coal with the original gas-coal. 2. By carburetting the coal gas with the vapours of volatile hydrocarbons : by mixing the gas with carburetted water-gas. Up to four years ago the method of the admixture of a certain percentage of Cannel coal with the Durham coal was universally adopted, but when the price of Cannel coal went up other means of enriching the gas had to be adopted. The Gas Light and Coke Company have used carburetted water-gas, and this burns with a short though bright flame.

Professor Lewis lays great stress on the inefficient burners by means of which the public burn the gas and thereby lose much of its illuminating powers. "From a so-called sixteen-candle coal gas the consumer rarely obtains a value of more than twelve candles per 5 cubic feet of gas consumed; while by using burners of rational construction upwards of forty-candle illuminating power could be obtained for the same consumption of gas." The worst burners in use are the flat flame burners, while the best obtainable are the regenerative type, in which the increase in illuminating value is almost entirely due to the rise in temperature, causing methane, which forms about 34 per cent. of the coal gas by volume, to become a valuable illuminant. About 85 per cent. of the burners used by the public are of the flat and inefficient type. The obstinacy of the public in adhering to the old-fashioned burner and ignoring improvements may be due to some extent to the feeling that gas as an illuminant has a powerful rival, and that it must before very long be "improved away."

Professor Lewis is strongly in favour of the proposition made a little while ago that the gas companies should be allowed to supply unenriched coal gas to the public at a lower rate than is at present charged for the enriched sixteen-candle gas. He thinks that the eye would not be able to detect the difference even with the flat-flame burners now in vogue. The suggestion to lower the light-giving standard will seem to many a retrogression. The electrician will probably say it is the first signs of the decadence of gas as an illuminant.

Helmholtz.—Yet another of the giants of scientific achievement has to be numbered in the death-roll of 1894. On September 8, Hermann von Helmholtz died at the age of seventy-three. Though

he lived to this advanced age, until quite lately he was actively engaged in scientific pursuits. It was only in 1893 that he journeyed to Chicago to take part in the congress of electricians. One of the most striking features of Helmholtz's work was perhaps his rare facility of combining thoroughness with an aptitude for studying a variety of subjects. As Sir Henry Roscoe has recently written, he was at once a surgeon, a physiologist, a physicist, a mathematician, a metaphysician, a musician, and litterateur.

At an early age he acquired a love for seeking the truths of nature, which in later life became a passion. It is said that when a child he was wont to arrange his toy building-blocks into geometrical forms, and thus laid up a store of knowledge which astounded his teachers when he made his advent at school. When Helmholtz grew up, although his heart was set on the study of pure science, practical reasons prevailed upon his father to urge his son to adopt a more paying profession, and to content himself with pursuing his tastes in his leisure hours. He therefore became an army surgeon. From this course of action the world has been much benefited, for it is doubtless due to his medical surroundings, combined with his grasp of the laws of optics, that his mind was led to invent the well-known ophthalmoscope and ophthalmometer. In 1847 his famous essay on the "Conservation of Force" was published. In the same year Joule was trying to make the British physicists listen to his theory of the conservation of energy. Helmholtz and Joule were in fact following the same lines of thought independently of one another, and finding equal difficulty in persuading the older generation of scientists in their respective countries to attach to their reasoning the value it deserved. The essay of Helmholtz was declared by the Berlin Physical Society to be a fantastical speculation, while Joule, when he first expounded the theory at a lecture in Manchester, found difficulty in getting any editor to publish an account of it in a newspaper. Perseverance, however, on the part of the two scientists gained for each in time the appreciation of the scientific world, and the acknowledgment that Helmholtz made the clear statement of the conservation of energy as specially applied to the living organism, and that to Joule belonged the honour of establishing on a basis of experiment the value of the mechanical equivalent of heat. After the publication of the essay Helmholtz abandoned his career of surgeon, and, being offered the professorship of physiology and pathology in the University of Konisberg, gained his desire of devoting his life to research.

He afterwards, in succession, held professorships of physiology in the universities of Konisberg, Bonn, and Heidelberg, and in 1871 he

was made Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Berlin.

To sum up the scientific work of the great German professor in a few lines is no easy task, so thorough and far-reaching were his investigations into various branches of science.

Of all his works perhaps that which is most appreciated by the public is the ophthalmoscope, before referred to, which, by enabling the oculist to study intently the most sensitive sense organ created by nature—the retina, has brought about relief and cure to many a sufferer from diseases of the eye. The *chef d'œuvres* of his writings were undoubtedly his great work on the “Sensations of Tone,” which appeared in 1863, and his treatise on optics, which came out in parts during 1856, 1860, and 1866, and which exhaustively treated the mechanism of the eye, the sensation of sight, and other optical subjects. The theory of colour adopted by Helmholtz was that espoused by Young, though the former somewhat enlarged upon it. By this theory all the sensations of colour are compounded out of three fundamental sensations, which are respectively red, green, violet or blue. This theory is now generally in vogue, and, as Professor Rücker has lately reminded us in his article on Helmholtz in the *Fortnightly Review* of November, 1894, the committee of the Royal Society, formed to report on colour vision, “adopted the terminology of the Young-Helmholtz theory, but pointed out that it fails to explain some curious cases of diseased vision in which the sensation of colour is confined to the blue end of the spectrum, while all the other tints appear in white.”

An important discovery of Helmholtz was undoubtedly the rate of propagation of excitation along the nerves. Another investigation which alone might have secured him fame was that which was concerned with the laws of vortex motion, an important feature indeed in the economy of nature if Lord Kelvin's daring speculation is true and all matter is “vortex rings in a frictionless liquid.”

Recurrent Vision.—Mr. Shelford Bidwell has recently been carrying on experiments which extend our knowledge of that curious and somewhat obscure phenomenon called by its first observer, Professor C. A. Young, “Recurrent Vision.” He noticed in 1872 that if a powerful Leyden jar is discharged in a dark room there are two if not more after images seen of any conspicuous object in the room at intervals of not less than a quarter of a second during which time complete darkness prevails. The cause of the effect seems to be due to an oscillation of the optic nerve, under the action of light of

limited duration, the period of darkness following as a reaction after the luminosity, and again after abnormal darkness there is a rebound into feebler luminosity.

A few months after Professor Young published his note on the subject in the *Philosophical Magazine*, Mr. A. S. Davis gave an account of his observations in the same journal, one of these being that when a piece of charcoal, one end of which was red hot, was waved about so as to describe an ellipse or circle a few inches in diameter, a blue image of the burning end was seen following the charcoal at a short distance behind it, the space between the charcoal and its image being absolutely dark. In 1885 Mr. Shelford Bidwell described in *Nature* a simple experiment to show the recurrent image :

If an ordinary vacuum tube, illuminated by an induction coil discharge, is made to rotate slowly upon an horizontal axis fixed at right angles to the middle of the tube, the tube is seen to be followed at a distance of a few degrees by a ghost-like image of itself, the ghost exactly imitating the original in form, but having a uniform steel-grey colour.

M. Aug. Charpentier recently revived interest in the subject by his paper entitled "Oscillations Rétinienne," *Comptes Rendus*, vol. cxiii., 1891. In this paper he describes an experiment in which a black disc having a white sector is illuminated by a strong light. If the disc is slowly revolved while the observer's eyes are fixed upon the centre, a well-defined dark band is seen upon the white sector near its leading edge and separated from the black ground of the disc by a similar white band. "The angular extension of the dark band increases with the speed of rotation and invariably takes the same time to pass over a fixed point in the retina. It begins about $\frac{1}{35}$ th second after the first passage of the white, and lasts sensibly the same time."

Mr. Shelford Bidwell's recent experiments deal partly with the colours of recurrent images under different conditions, partly with an extension of M. Charpentier's experiment. In June last he communicated the results to the Royal Society.

He has devised two distinct optical arrangements for showing the colours of recurrent images or, as he terms them, "ghosts." The first is a rough means of showing the phenomena and suitable for exhibiting the effects to large audiences.

He rotates a metal disc having a circular opening near its edge in front of the condensers of a projection lantern. The image of the aperture is focussed upon a distant screen. When a plate of coloured glass is placed in front of the lens of the lantern a small coloured disc of light describing a circular path is visible on the screen.

The coloured disc as it moves is pursued by a "ghost" of the same size and shape, though much less brilliant. Its colour varies with the colour of the glass used. With white electric light the colour is violet. For obtaining certain results he employs a somewhat more elaborate apparatus, using the simple colours of the spectrum. In this the light from any selected part of the spectrum is projected upon a small mirror to the back of which is attached an horizontal arm not quite perpendicular to the mirror. This arm is revolved by clockwork, and the reflected beam of light is received upon a screen and forms a coloured disc about 1.5 centimètres in diameter, revolving in a circular path having a diameter of 30 centimètres. With one turn of the mirror in $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds the "ghost" appeared about 60° behind the coloured disc at a time interval of $\frac{1}{5}$ th second. It was circular in form, its diameter being rather less than the original. The following are the decisions respecting the colours of the "ghosts" responding to different parts of the spectrum. These colours have been agreed upon by several persons.

With the extreme violet of the spectrum there was no perceptible image at all, but with the middle violet there was a pure image of somewhat doubtful tint, being described by some as grey, by others as yellow and greenish-yellow. The dark blue gave a feeble violet "ghost," the light blue one of a brighter violet. The middle green gave a still brighter violet; with greenish-yellow the image was blue; with orange-yellow, bluish-green; with orange a dark bluish-green. Orange-red produced the same colour only still darker. Red is remarkable as giving no image at all, however bright the red is made.

When a complete small spectrum was revolved parallel to itself in a circle about 1 mètre in diameter, it was attended by a "ghost" of violet hue. Mr. Shelford Bidwell has come to the conclusion that these "ghosts" are due to a reaction of the violet nerve fibres only, and gives four reasons for such a belief: 1. With white light the "ghost" is violet; 2. With the complete spectrum the "ghost" is violet; 3. There is no "ghost" produced by pure red light, and it is supposed by the believers in the Young-Helmholtz theory that red light has no action upon the violet nerve fibres; 4. The apparently blue colour of the recurrent image of simple spectrum yellow is also produced by a compound yellow consisting of green and red, the latter being inert when tested separately.

In Mr. Shelford Bidwell's extension of M. Charpentier's experiment the Charpentier effect of the dark band is accompanied by the "ghost."

To accomplish this he makes use of two blackened discs 15 centi-

mètres in diameter, from each of which two opposite quadrants were cut out. The discs are mounted in contact with one another on an horizontal axis, driven by clockwork and making one turn in $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. By slipping the discs over one another round their centres it is possible to obtain open sectors of varying apertures. The discs are placed opposite a ground-glass screen, behind which there are incandescent electric lamps. When the sectors are opened as widely as possible Charpentier's dark band appears upon the translucent background. The sectors are then closed up until the posterior edge of the dark band coincides with that of the sector. It is found that the arc of the open sector is equal to about $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$ nd part of the whole circumference. The dark reaction therefore ceases in $\frac{1}{35}$ th second after the first excitation by the light. It is observed that the posterior edge of the open sector is bordered by a luminous fringe, due to persistence. A little beyond the edge of the fringe there appears an intensely black radial band covering a space of about 4° . After an interval of some 40° this is followed by the luminous "ghost" of a blue colour.

M. Charpentier was able with difficulty under good conditions to detect a second and even third dark band of diminished intensity. The ingenuity of Mr. Shelford Bidwell has rendered their observation easy. In a blackened zinc disc 15 centimètres diameter he cuts two opposite radial slits about 0.5 millimètre. The disc is rotated at the rate of one turn per second in front of the translucent background. This background is covered with opaque paper in which a circular opening is made of slightly less diameter than the disc. When the disc is placed opposite this opening no light reaches the eye except that which passes through the two slits. When the disc is observed from a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mètres, the eye being fixed upon its centre, each slit gives four or even five luminous images "arranged like the ribs of a partly opened fan."

The images are distinctly separated by dark intervals near the circumference, but overlapping towards the centre. The leading image is the brightest, each succeeding image being of diminished intensity.

The Exploration of the Higher Atmosphere.—It is not always that so intrepid an observer of nature as Mr. Glaisher can be found to take soundings in the borderland of life, nor is there often available an aeronaut of such boldness, prudence and presence of mind as Mr. Coxwell displayed in his piloting of the ascent of seven miles on September 5, 1862.

But, even if there were no lack of volunteers for the aerial observatory, the experiment of Messrs. Glaisher and Coxwell proved that it would be useless to attempt to send human observers much further than seven miles. It seemed, therefore, as if investigations in the upper atmosphere must cease at that height. The experiment, however, of M. Hermite a little while ago showed that there is a very easy way of carrying on the exploration, and one that involves no risk to human life. He simply sent up a small pilot balloon with self-recording instruments, trusting to chance for the recovery of the balloon after it descended. Chance favoured the experimenter, and he recovered the balloon and the recording apparatus with its valuable testimony in perfect condition.

The balloon was made of gold-beater's skin, which has an admirable capacity for holding gas. It was originally intended to fill it with pure hydrogen, but, owing to a hitch in its manufacture, ordinary coal gas had to be used. The holding capacity of the balloon was 113 cubic mètres. Its weight, including the net, was 14 kilogrammes. The balloon carried in a basket a Richard self-registering apparatus for recording the temperatures and pressure. The balloon was furnished with an inflation pipe, 30 centimètres diameter and 90 centimètres long, by means of which air took the place of gas when the balloon made the descent.

The balloon ascended at Vaugirard at 12.25 p.m., and descended at Chanvres near Joigny at 7.11 p.m.

The diagram recorded on the revolving cylinder showed that the registering of the pressure had been continued down to 95 millimètres of mercury, which meant that the highest point to which the balloon had ascended was 17,000 mètres. At a level of 14,000 mètres a temperature of 51° centigrade (60° below zero, Fahrenheit) was registered. These records show that the temperature of the upper regions is much less than has been supposed. Mr. W. De Fonville has drawn attention to the fact that, considering Professor Dewar's and Cailletet's discoveries relating to the liquification and solidification of the air, it became necessary to admit that "the air loses its gaseous condition and becomes changed into a series of minute crystals or drops, which follow the earth in its motion through space, and are constantly vaporised when falling in regions where the temperature is somewhat above the point of liquefaction or evaporation."

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Amir's Surgeon on Afghanistan.—The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society for the first quarter of 1894 contains the report of an interesting address on Afghanistan by Dr. Gray, Surgeon to the Amir. The route by which the capital is reached is through the Khyber Pass, open only on Mondays and Thursdays, when, in consideration of a subvention of £7,000 a year from the Indian Government, the mountain tribes engage to leave travellers unmolested. A wearisome ride of twelve miles between bare mountains from Jumrud on the hither, to Ali Musjid on the further side of the pass, lies among the Khyberi villages, each a square fort with towers at the four angles and entered by a single gate. The wall is pierced for rifles, and as each village is frequently at war with its nearest neighbour, these defensive precautions are by no means superfluous. After passing Lundi Kotal, the last British post, a fortified serai or stopping-place for caravans, the Shinwarri country is reached; and later on, Dakkha, the first outpost of the Amir. An excellent mountain road, made by the British during the Afghan war, leads along the spurs of the mountains that enclose the Kabul Valley, the next important halting-place being the walled city of Jelalabad, situated in the midst of a wide plain. Both here and at the Nimla Garden farther on, the party were quartered in a pavilion belonging to the Amir, surrounded by flowers and orange-trees in blossom. A bleak mountain country was traversed during the succeeding marches, until the culminating point was reached in the Latabund Pass 8,000 feet high, by a road which seemed to cling to the ledges of the peaks. The topmost pinnacle was crowned by a gruesome reminder of the Amir's savage justice, a cage fixed on a mast, in which a noted robber was once enclosed. Kabul, lying in its green valley, looks a paradise when first sighted from these desolate crags, and the roads leading to it are fringed with poplars, and pass through cultivated fields with irrigation ditches between them. The general effect produced by the city on entering it, however, is one of dirt and dilapidation, although the groups of people clad in brightly coloured garments give animation to the narrow and roughly paved streets. The bazaars, with their low and dingy stalls, are roofed in to screen them from the sun, and here some European commodities can be purchased, as well as the brown native frieze, the

carpets of Turkestan, sheepskin vests, bread in flat oval cakes, and Kabuli mutton. The private houses, one of which was assigned to Mr. Gray, are built on the side of an enclosure, in which is a yard or garden with a well in the centre. In the ordinary ones the windows are unglazed, and closed only by shutters. The Amir's residence is enclosed within the moat-girdled circuit of the Ark, or fortified palace, comprising many separate groups of buildings. Among these is his Highness's pavilion, built after his own design in the form of a cross with a circular domed hall in the centre, each arm opening by a large window on the rose garden which surrounds the whole. Prince Habibullah, a young man of about twenty-four, who speaks a little English, received the visitors in his father's absence.

Excursion to Afghan Turkestan.—The Amir was then (April 15th, 1889) in Turkestan, and thither Dr. Gray, bidden to follow him, started with a convoy of treasure under a large cavalry escort on May 16th. The crossing of the Hindu Kush by rugged paths still sloppy with melted snow was not accomplished without considerable hardships, as the tents were sometimes left behind, and provisions were but scantily supplied by the mountain villages. The remains of several deserted cities, all ascribed by Afghan tradition to Sekunder or Alexander, showed that this waste had once been more populous. The last day's ride of forty miles led over undulating downs and a flat dusty plain from Tashkurghan to Mazar-i-Sherif, where the Amir was in occupation of the new palace built by him in the midst of a large walled garden full of almond trees and flowers. His Highness is described as a fair-skinned man, unburnt to swarthinness, with piercing eyes and black hair. On September 15th, his youngest son Prince Mahomed Omar was born, and at four months old was installed in his own establishment with his political wives, horses, and signet. He is in Afghan eyes the lawful heir to the throne, as he is of royal blood on both sides, his mother the Sultana being the Amir's cousin of the Suddozye tribe.

During the summer, intermittent fever raged among the troops, so the doctor's office was no sinecure. The hospital was a large garden or orchard where the patients were laid on beds under the trees, or when the place was crowded simply on the grass, the absence of dew and great dryness of the air rendering this *al fresco* cure possible. The little prince was vaccinated at four months old, and made great friends with his medical attendant. The latter having left him one day while he was laughing, was followed by one

of the old lady attendants to beg a hair from his head that it might be burnt so as to avert the evil presaged by this occurrence. The return journey to Kabul was made in June 1890, when the heat was so great as to compel the travelling to be done at night. Many lost their way in consequence, and the Amir himself on one occasion found himself wandering off towards Russia. The journey lasted forty days, and terminated with a state reception at Kabul.

Commercial Treaty with Japan.—The proof given by the Japanese in their war with China of their power of assimilating Western civilisation, enhances the importance of the treaty recently negotiated with them by the British Government. Its principal provisions, it is true, do not come into force for five years, so its value is rather prospective than actual. Its effect is, briefly, to place Japan on the same footing in relation to Great Britain as other civilised Powers; abolishing, on the one hand, the special Consular jurisdiction hitherto claimed by foreigners at the ports, and on the other, all existing restrictions on mutual intercourse, the subjects of each nation being placed on a footing of perfect equality with those of the other, and relieved of any special disability in either country. Freedom of commerce and navigation is also guaranteed between the dominions and possessions of the two Powers, with equality as to access to harbours and shipping facilities. According to the custom prevailing during the last fifteen years of making the acceptance of commercial treaties negotiated by Great Britain optional with her self-governing colonies, neither Canada nor Australia is as yet included in the treaty, which contains the usual clause excepting them from its operation, unless within two years of its ratification they should notify their wish to be included in it. Their known dislike to the admission of Asiatic immigrants would be a ground of objection which may possibly outweigh in their eyes its practical advantages, as its adoption would undoubtedly increase the number of Japanese settlers in their dominions, while precluding them from all restriction of their hospitality to them. The importance of its commercial facilities would, on the other hand, be very great. The Pacific trade proper, namely, that carried on by the ports on that ocean amongst themselves is, as the *Times* of October 22nd points out, in its weekly article on the Colonies, entirely a creation of the last five years; the impulse which called it into being having been given in the first instance by the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Since then the trade between China, Japan, and the ports of British Columbia has made such strides that no less

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Over three million pounds of tea have been landed on one wharf in Vancouver in a single week, while the ships of the Canadian-Australian line started only last June are sometimes unable to carry the freight ready for them on the quays of the same port. The stimulating effect on this nascent trade of free access to the markets of a nation of forty millions at its very gates can scarcely be estimated beforehand, but it would certainly be such as to revolutionise all the social conditions at present prevailing at these new meeting-points of East and West. Victoria has already sent a Commissioner to inquire into the prospects of trade with Japan, and has received a favourable report, as its imports already comprise raw sugar, wool, and leather. Cotton, moreover, now only procurable from China, is much esteemed as a delicacy in the Empire of the Mikado, and the statement of the Commissioner that it could be imported from Australia at a cost of 10d. per lb. or less, could scarcely be credited by the Japanese Minister of Agriculture.

Proposed Reclamation of the Zuyder Zee.—The Zuyder Zee Association, long engaged in the study of schemes for the drainage of its basin, has formulated one which has been approved with some modifications by a Royal Commission, whose report on the subject forms a quarto volume of 180 pages. Should the plan, as seems likely, be put in operation, the works, to be completed in thirty-three years, would begin with the construction of a great sea-wall or embankment across the mouth of the inland sea, where narrowed by the island of Wieringen, converting it into a freshwater lake communicating with the North Sea by a double set of locks for the admittance of shipping. The restriction of its waters within a central channel called the Ysselmeer, would then be commenced by the successive enclosure of its more deeply embayed portions, forming four separate sections with an aggregate area of 750 square miles. These "polders," as such rescued lands are called in Holland, would be gradually drained by steam pumps lifting the water to higher levels with an eventual outflow to the sea. From the time that the drainage of the "polders" begins to take effect, some 25,000 acres of land will be every year brought into the market, giving a gradual return for the vast initial outlay. The entire cost is estimated at £26,250,000, while the value of the land reclaimed will, it is calculated, be £27,166,666, so that the scheme will eventually be remunerative to the nation. The sea-wall will have a length of about 25 miles, and will be raised on a foundation of earth, sand, and stones, enclosed by fascines. Its breadth at the surface of the water will be 216 ft.,

and it will rise some 17 ft. above it. Its actual summit will be no more than 6 ft. 6 in. across, but a level space lower down will afford space for both a cart-road and a railway-track. The contracted Zuyder Zee, or Ysselmeer, after all these changes, will be an oblong lake about 20 miles across, extending two branches of three miles in width westward to Amsterdam, and eastward to the mouth of the Yssel, which will thus have an outlet for its waters to the North Sea. The Zuyder Zee, as known to us, is a comparatively modern feature of the map of Europe, its expanse having been in the time of the Cæsars a wild forest area enclosing the comparatively small Lake Flevo, and traversed by rivers finding their way to the sea, where what is now an outlying fringe of islands then formed the coast of the mainland. So things might have remained, had not Drusus Nero conceived the idea of turning a branch of the Rhine into the Yssel, thus giving its channel a larger body of water to convey than its capacity admitted of. Disastrous inundations of the overfed rivers opened the way for irruptions of the sea through the breaches made by them in the low shores, until the present wide and shallow inlet was formed, having assumed its actual shape in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The Camel in Australia.—A new impetus has been given to Australian development by the increasing use of the camel. The deserts of the southern hemisphere seem no less adapted to the constitution of that wonderful quadruped than those of the old world, and it thrives admirably on the salt bush, wattle, mulga, acacia, and other spare vegetation of those arid plains. Although it is only about a quarter of a century since its first experimental importation, the number in use now amounts to nearly 10,000, while the race is so improved by scientific breeding, that the value of the Australian-reared specimens considerably exceeds that of those imported from India, which they surpass in size, in soundness of wind and limb, and in weight-carrying capacity. Port Augusta, 259 miles north-west of Adelaide, is the principal depot for their importation, as it contains a quarantine station where they are isolated for three months as a precaution against the outbreak of the fatal mange to which they are liable until thus acclimatised. The *British Australasian*, in its number on the goldfields of Western Australia, declares that the use of the camel caravan has rendered possible the cultivation of regions previously incapable of settlement, because cut off by a waterless zone impassable for any other form of transport. In Western Australia again, camels are being utilised for rendering the new goldfields

accessible, and mining machinery is made in sections adapted for camel-loads. A novel feature introduced here is camel-waggon-transport, and teams of eight are being substituted for the four or more yoke of oxen previously used for draught. Well-sinking machinery is being sent on camel-back into the waterless country, and if the results prove at all commensurate to those achieved in Queensland, where some of the borings yield 2,000,000 gallons a day, a rapid transformation would be effected in the face of the country.

Peru, and the Head Waters of the Amazon.—A correspondent of the *Times* writing from Lima, on September 4th, describes the difficulties with which Peru is now threatened, in consequence of her dispute with Colombia and Ecuador as to the control of the Upper Amazon. The region in question, covering an area of 30,000 square miles, formed part of the ancient viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, before Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela became independent republics, and was transferred to Peru by a Royal Edict dated July 15th, 1802. The boundaries there laid down as constituted by the rivers Yapura, Napo, and Marañon, with all their tributaries, included the main feeders of the Upper Amazon, access to which thus became a Peruvian monopoly to the exclusion of Colombia and Ecuador. These latter States now demand the cession of all the territory north of the Amazon and its junction with the Napo, and are preparing to enforce their claim at the cannon's mouth. The lands of the Ecuador Land Company, an English concern, to which 1,000,000 acres have been granted, lie in the disputed territory, while the certainty of the eventual opening of navigation on the Amazon renders the question one of international interest. Peru, according to the account of its condition in the correspondent's letter, is little able to resist the claim. War and revolution have reduced its population both in the interior and on the coast, and it is described as in a general state of decadence. The railway from Lima to Oroya, which crosses the Cordillera at a height of 15,500 ft., passes the ruins of Inca towns and traces of extensive ancient cultivation in regions now waste and uninhabited. Freight is largely carried, even along the railway line, by mules, donkeys, and llamas, as the cost is less, and time of no account. If the line ever pay, it will only be when it reaches the Montaña, or rich and well-watered eastern slope of the Cordillera.

The Trans-Siberian Railway.—The first section, 495 miles long, of this great line is now open for traffic, and it is possible to make the journey from St. Petersburg to Omsk and back within ten days.

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The difficulties of construction were very great as the track in one place, between Urakovo and Boulakava, lay for 70 miles through a marsh where engineers and navvies had to be housed in mud huts raised on piles and only accessible by boats. The country being mainly desert, all provisions for the expedition had to be carried with it, and some privation was occasionally unavoidable. The mosquitos were a veritable plague, and masks had to be worn as the only possible protection, fumigation proving ineffectual. The Siberian frontier is marked by a large wooden obelisk, with "Asia" inscribed on one face and "Europe" on the other. The *Geographical Journal* of January 1894 informs us that the Siberian Railway Committee had at that time decided to postpone for the present the construction of the very costly section of the line round Lake Baikal, the estimate for which is £2,500,000 sterling. It will run instead from Irkutsk to the shore of the lake, a distance of 53 miles, and be connected with the Middle Siberian section by steamers for eight months of the year, and by a temporary railway over the ice during the winter. The present highway from Siberia to the Amur skirts the lake, and has had to be cut in the face of the cliffs which rise from it to a great height, presenting a formidable impediment to railway cutting. On the second section of 326 miles, from Omsk to the Ob, as well as on the third, thence to Krasnoyarsk, the works are being actively pushed on, while the first 67 miles at the extreme eastern end, from Vladivostock to Nikolskoye, are already open for goods and passenger traffic. The possibility of navigation to the mouth of the Yenissei having been proved by the voyages of Captain Wiggins, it is obvious that that river and its tributaries, the Chulym and Angara, whose channels can easily be deepened, furnish the cheapest and shortest route for the importation of railway plant and material imported from Europe *via* the Arctic Sea. It has therefore been decided to build at once the trunk-line of 113 miles from Achinsk to Krasnoyarsk, connecting the basin of the Ob with that of the Yenissei, thus linking the two great arteries of navigation, and materially facilitating the construction of the main line from Irkutsk to Krasnoyarsk.

American Arctic Expedition.—The representative of a syndicate of American scientists and merchants, leagued together for the solution of the Polar problem, was interviewed on his arrival in Liverpool on November 18th by an emissary of Dalziel's agency. The equipment of an expedition, intended to start from New York in the spring, has been decided on, and a vessel, constructed on novel principles, is now being built for it. Every possible precaution will

be taken to insure its safety during a possible absence of seven years, and such stocks of fresh meat, vegetables, and fruit will be taken in addition to the usual supplies of tinned provisions, as to reduce the risk of scurvy to a minimum. The Baffin's Bay route, abandoned by recent explorers, has been practically determined on by the promoters, who hope "to definitely ascertain the nature of the Polar regions, and of the Pole itself before the expiration of the present century."

Portuguese Claim to the Discovery of America.—The priority of the Portuguese in the discovery of the western world was maintained by Mr. H. Yule Oldham, lecturer on geography at the University of Cambridge, at a technical meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on November 19th. The probability that the same accident which carried Cabral to the coast of Brazil in 1500 might have happened before, was urged as an *a priori* argument, but the strongest piece of evidence adduced was that of a map made by Andrea Bianco of Venice in London in 1448. On this map, the first containing the Portuguese discoveries as far as Cape Verde, is shown, stretching to the south-west of that promontory, a long coast line with the inscription "Genuine island is distant 1,500 miles to the west." Galvano, in his work "Discoveries of the World," stated that a Portuguese ship had been, in 1447, driven by a gale to an island in the west, which the writer believed to be one of the West Indian group afterwards discovered by Columbus, but which Mr. Oldham argued was more probably Brazil. The southerly route taken by the Genoese discoverer in his third voyage, was also attributed by the Spanish historian, Herrera, to his desire to find out whether King John of Portugal had been mistaken in maintaining that there was a continent to the southward. In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, the experts present, while acknowledging the interest and merit of Mr. Oldham's investigations of old charts, came to the conclusion that the evidence was insufficient to overthrow their belief in the priority of Columbus.

Notices of Books.

Institutiones Theologicæ in usum Scholarum. Auctore G. BERNARDO TEPE, S.J. Volumem primum continens tractatus *De Vera Religione, De Ecclesia Christi, De Verbo Dei Scripto et Tradito.* Parisiis: Sumptibus Lethielleux. 1894.

WHILE the great theological classics must ever retain their place for professors and the learned among our clergy, each succeeding age gives rise to smaller text-books adapted to the needs of students, and of those who have no time to consult lengthy treatises. Theology, the most conservative of the sciences, offers abundant scope for variety and freshness of treatment. The old truths can be presented in the light of recent decisions; doctrines which have become the object of special attack, can be set forth with greater fulness; current objections can be dealt with; and the verified conclusions of the ever-advancing profane sciences can be made to render service in confirming divine truths. Moreover, each age has its own way of acquiring and marshalling its knowledge. What, therefore, we look for in any new text-book, is that it shall be up to date in all, or at least in some, of these ways. By this we do not mean that it should contain the very latest views which are only just beginning to find their way into the schools; nor need it devote much space to the discussion of questions which are still undecided. Such matters are more fitly treated in reviews and essays.

Judged by these tests, Father Tepe's lately published manual can be highly recommended. Only one volume, containing the introductory treatise *De Vera Religione* and the sources of theological knowledge, has yet appeared. Three others will complete the work. The style is easy, the matter well distributed in numbered and lettered paragraphs, and there is a copious table of contents, serving not only as a *conspectus*, but also as an elaborate analysis of the various treatises. As regards the main divisions of the whole province of dogmatic theology, there is not much scope for originality; but one naturally looks to see the position assigned to the treatise *De Ecclesia Christi*. The Church is one of the *loci theologici*, and so must find a place in Fundamental (or General) Theology. But it is likewise the Mystical Body of Christ, ruling and sanctifying its members by applying to them His merits. It should therefore be treated also in connection

with the work of Redemption. This twofold treatment, proposed in Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, would seem to be the only adequate one. The position of the Church simply as a *locus theologicus* hampers Father Tepe, and prevents him from giving a truly comprehensive view of Christ's Kingdom. Again, Tradition, as essential to the transmission of the Word, as prior in time and wider in extent, should have precedence over Scripture. Franzelin's splendid treatise *De Divina Traditione et Scriptura* has firmly established this order. Turning next to the contents of the treatises, it will be found that Miracle and Prophecy are well dealt with; though some readers may think that more is assumed than our adversaries would grant. The same objection might be raised against the treatment of the genuineness and authority of the New Testament. But we must repeat that a theological text-book is not called upon to discuss the very latest phases of opinion. The large amount of space allotted to the historical aspect of dogma is a valuable feature. If, however, we had to point out Father Tepe's characteristic, we should say that he has the happy power of giving in the fewest words a ready answer to popular objections—a quality invaluable in the author of any manual.

T. B. S.

Petri Cardinalis Pázmány Dialectica, *quam e codice manuscripto biblio, thecæ universitatis Budapestinensis recensuit Stephanus Bognar.* Budapestini. 1894.

CARDINAL PÁZMÁNY (1570–1637), a convert from Calvinism, entered the Society of Jesus, and studied at Rome under Vasquez and Bellarmine. After his ordination he taught philosophy and theology for seven years. Then he devoted himself to missions and controversy. In 1616, he became Primate of Hungary, and in 1629, Cardinal. His voluminous writings are now in course of publication under the direction of the University of Buda-Pesth, which he himself founded originally at Tyrnau. The bulky volume before us contains a number of treatises on Dialectics (*De Natura Dialecticæ, De Universalibus, Prædicamenta*), and commentaries on Aristotle's Interpretation and Prior and Posterior Analytics. As far as I have been able to judge, the author was a man of extensive reading, and of profound and independent thought; but his style is so harsh and involved, that the sentences do not readily give up their meaning. Those, however, who take the trouble to labour in this mine of well-nigh seven hundred quarto pages will be amply rewarded.

T. B. S

Kant et la Science Moderne. Par le R. P. TILMANN PESCH.
Traduit de l'allemand par M. LEQUIEN. Paris : Lethielleux.

THIS is a fresh volume of the excellent "Bibliothèque Philosophique," in course of publication by the eminent firm of Lethielleux of Paris. Students of a long course of philosophy must often feel weary of their well-worn text-book, however excellent it may be. By reading these monographs on Bacon, Conte, and now on Kant, they will experience an agreeable change, while at the same time adding largely to their knowledge. Father Pesch is a recognised authority on Kant, and his little work, entitled "Kant and Modern Science," is already well known in its original German. He looks upon the *Critique of the Pure Reason* as "the splendid raving of a superior mind," and his great aim is to destroy the idolatrous worship paid to its author. Modern science is based upon the *Critique*, and as this has no solidity, modern science must fall. Father Pesch is especially severe on such Catholics as have any sort of admiration for the philosopher of Königsberg. Now the writer of this notice confesses to be one of these, and, as he has no love for hard knocks, he had better say no more.

T. B. S.

The Drama of the Apocalypse. By EN DANSK. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.

THE author of this strange but valuable work is of opinion that the current interpretations of the Apocalypse, whether orthodox or rationalistic, are all wrong. The closing book of the New Testament is not (according to him) a prophecy of events since fulfilled, or yet to be fulfilled; nor is it a mere retrospective description of the fall of Jerusalem. The sixteen chapters (vi.-xxi.) with which alone he deals, "constitute a sort of scenic representation, mostly of a symbolic nature, part in action, part in tableaux or panoramas, part in narrative, and may be said to give us the DRAMA OF THE FUTURE, as enacted before the mental vision of John." The work is in no sense critical, previous authorities are studiously ignored, yet the author throws light on many obscure passages, and presents the visions with a vividness which is often wanting in the orthodox commentaries. The wealth of illustration from the Old Testament is especially worthy of commendation. Bearing in mind the point of view of "En Dansk," and making the necessary reserves, Catholic readers may derive much advantage from the study of his book.

T. B. S.

Japan. By DAVID MURRAY, Ph.D., LL.D. Story of the Nations Series. London : T. Fisher Unwin. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1894. Pp. 431.

THIS story of Japan, of a restored empire which is adopting the civilisation and customs of the West, and is, at the time of writing, maintaining successfully, by sea and land, a struggle with the seeming millions of China, can scarcely fail to prove an interesting addition to the series in which it has been assigned a place. Japanese art, real and sham, plays a large part in the Western households of to-day ; and though, to quote Mr. W. S. Gilbert's poet of æstheticism, we may "not be fond of all one sees that's Japanese," the industry and ability of the nation that can produce articles, at once so cheap in price and so artistic in design, must arrest our attention. The volume before us traces the story of Japan from its beginnings in a vague and legendary antiquity down to the establishment of its present constitutional government. The author has evidently done this work carefully and, in the main, well. A great deal of information is supplied in the space at his disposal ; and if the style is less bright than we should desire, its sober, judicious tone betokens his painstaking desire to be clear, fair, and accurate.

The first two chapters are taken up with a description of the geographical features of the Japanese Archipelago, and the ethnography of the original and surviving races inhabiting the islands. The history of the founding and vicissitudes of the empire is then recounted. Prominence is given to the introduction and progress of Christianity. Mr. Murray relates how Fernam Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese traveller and trader, with two fugitives whom he had rescued from their pursuers, met St. Francis Xavier at Malacca in 1547. The saint was greatly interested in these Japanese fugitives, and took them with him to Goa, where they were baptised and instructed in the faith. With these efficient helps, St. Francis set out on his mission to Japan, and landed at Kagoshima, the capital of the province of Satsuma, on August 15th, 1549. He seems to have been much impressed by the character of the Japanese. Mr. Murray quotes from Father Coleridge's *Life of St. Francis Xavier* the following extracts from one of his early letters :

I really think that among barbarous nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than Japan. . . . They are wonderfully inclined to see all that is good and honest, and have an eagerness to learn.

A whole chapter is devoted to the chequered story of Christianity in the seventeenth century. The work of the Jesuits is described with

some detail, and in a kindly spirit. The author has evidently little sympathy with the popular Protestant tradition that represents the Jesuit as little better than the spirit of a Machiavelli, clad in a caesock, and stealing over the earth, interfering with all the affairs of nations. He says:

The instructions which were issued to the members of the Society of Jesus, however, forbade any Father to meddle in secular affairs, or to interfere in any way with the political concerns of the government in which they were labouring. That there were occasional instances of the disregard of this regulation by the enthusiastic members of the Order may be supposed, but it will be unjust and unfounded to attribute to this Society a settled policy of interference in the affairs of the nations where they were employed as missionaries (pp. 245, 246).

In 1614 Ieyasu published an edict for the expulsion of European missionaries, the demolition of their churches, and the compulsory perversion of the native Christians. To carry out this edict a special court or service was instituted by the government called the Christian Inquiry, which pursued tactics as miserable and unnatural as the penal laws now happily wiped out of our own statute-book. Tariffs of the rewards offered for the betrayal of kinsfolk and others were displayed on the edict, and were displayed as late as the year 1868.

In spite, however, of all the strenuous and protracted endeavours which were made to extinguish Christianity, the Christian world, in the middle of the present century, learnt with amazement that, in the villages round Nagasaki, wonderful survivals of the old faith still remained. Not only had words and symbols been preserved in the language, but whole communities of Christians still existed who had kept their faith for more than two hundred years.

Without priests, without teachers, almost without any printed instruction, they had kept alive by tradition through successive generations a knowledge of the religion which their ancestors had professed. These communities had no doubt maintained a discreet quiet as to the tenets of their belief (p. 379).

Appendices giving lists of the emperors, &c., are supplied, and the work is brought to a conclusion by a useful and copious index. In these days of the multiplication and perfection of process engraving, we are being led to expect more and more in the style of illustrations inserted in books. We are surprised that the publishers of the present volume, who have produced such good work, should have allowed many of the prints to pass muster.

J. B. M.

Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der ständigen Nuntiaturen. Von
Dr. ANTON PIEPER. Freiburg: Herder. 1894.

WE welcome this valuable contribution to the history of papal Nuntiatures. It is gathered from the Vatican Archives, and deals with the subject-matter in a manner that reflects credit on its author. Dr. Pieper, who has resided for several years in Rome, has successfully studied in that vast repository of papal documents, and thus became able to throw new light on a question which has been only slightly touched on by other students. The object of his investigations has been mainly the instructions given to the Nuncios from the middle of the fifteenth century, at the Courts of Madrid, Vienna, and Paris. The revised texts of these documents ere long will be gathered and brought out in a second volume, whilst the first part, just published, treats systematically the history of permanent Nuncios. It extends down from the above-mentioned period to the end of the Pontificate of Paul III. (1549). Of course, the ecclesiastical revolution of that period gave rise to many extraordinary papal embassies destined to the Imperial Court and the Diet of Germany. Dr. Pieper has done well in introducing them, as they illustrate the zeal shown by the Holy See in defence of the Church in Germany. But still it remains a subject of regret that the author has left out of his purview England which, for this period at least, could have provided him with abundant materials. In the first part, the origin of the office of Nuncios, their position in Curia, Romana, the instructions given them, and the activity they displayed, are clearly set forth. It is of importance to note that the instructions were of a twofold kind, secret and public. In the former the Nuncio became acquainted with the main features of the country whither he proceeded, its history, and the religious, and political situation. The latter provided him with information of a rather delicate character. For instance, that with which Cardinal Farnese was supplied when proceeding to Ratisbon, A.D. 1541, was called "secretissima," and no one was allowed to see it. An interesting part of the work is to be found in the author's comment on papal ciphers as employed in the instructions. The literary remains of Giovanni Argenti (1585-1591), and his nephew Matteo Argenti (1591-1606), principal decipherers of that period, are still preserved in the Chigi Library, Rome, and abound in valuable information. From Dr. Pieper we learn that the British Museum is in possession of the diary of Peter van der Vorst, whom Paul III. despatched into Germany (1536) to bring to the German princes the bull for assembling the Council at Mantua. We trust that the volume will shortly be followed by a second.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Der Einfluss der Religion auf das Leben beim ausgehenden Mittelalter, besonders in Dänemark. Von WILHELM SCHMITZ, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1894.

THE exiled Fathers of the German province of the Society of Jesus are successfully at work in Denmark, not only in the department of missionary labour, but also in that of Catholic science and historiography. F. Schmitz renders an account of the religious condition of the country, where he is now residing, as it is represented by contemporary historians in the period immediately preceding the Reformation. One would be disposed to imagine that the wave of destruction sweeping away the Catholic religion from the public life of Denmark would have carried with it any literary records bearing on the mediæval times. Fortunately, this has not been the case. To F. Schmitz' unwearied researches in the archives and public libraries we are deeply indebted for various valuable works, both printed and in manuscript, which enable the reader to form an adequate estimate of the Danish Catholics of that time. To most readers, German or English, the vast storehouse of Danish literature undoubtedly will be totally unknown, and the fact enhances the value of the present publications. We fully accept the words of a celebrated Protestant Danish historian: "In the period of the outgoing Middle Ages, the Catholic Church in the three northern realms extended her influence upon the whole of human life, both public and private, and impressed on it a peculiar stamp. Nobody was able to withdraw from her close and enduring influence, and no good Catholic had ever the intention of doing so. And this intimate familiarity between church and life, which were closely intertwined, presented a good and lovable aspect."

B.

The First Divorce of Henry VIII.: As told in the State Papers. By MRS. HOPE. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1894.

AMONG other desirable ends which this interesting volume will doubtless serve, not the least important is that of a corrective to another account of the same subject, published by the late Professor Froude, some three years ago. Both books purport to give the story of Henry VIII.'s first divorce, as it is contained in the State Papers of the period. But Mr. Froude's object is the vindication of his hero's conduct, and in his brilliant *ex parte* statements he

professes to draw his conclusions solely from the letters of the Imperial ambassadors resident in London, a remarkable piece of audacity, seeing that those letters, and especially the ones which Chapuys wrote to the Emperor, are far more damaging to Henry's character than anything else that can be produced. The truth is, that to make the story of the divorce favourable to Henry's cause, it was necessary for Mr. Froude to become blind to a large amount of evidence, besides causing it to appear as if the Pope were responsible for the wearisome delays, for the sophistries and the technical *impedimenta* which hampered the business of every step, and which were in reality Henry's own work. The volume before us is in marked contrast with this method. It is the result of a careful study of all the published collections of State Papers appertaining to the King's divorce as well as of the other contemporary sources of information, and it presents the narrative to the reader in a plain, unvarnished manner, eminently readable, if devoid of the misleading witchery of Mr. Froude's romance. It throws valuable light on the rise, progress and issue of Henry's scruples of conscience, and it destroys some fond illusions which have been hitherto cherished with regard to the manner in which the suit was conducted, and the character of some of the actors in the drama. Thus, a favourite stalking-horse with the party eager for the divorce, was an alleged doubt, said to have been expressed by the Bishop of Tarbes, regarding the legitimacy of the Princess Mary. Mr. Bremer, after a critical examination of the documents relating to the negotiation of the Bishop of Tarbes in England, declares that the story was nothing but a political figment invented afterwards to justify the King's proceedings.

Mrs. Hope says (page 49):

Henry naturally felt a difficulty about the origin of his scruples. It was therefore planned one day in York Place, between him and Wolsey, that he should ascribe them to a doubt as to the Princess Mary's legitimacy, expressed by the Bishop of Tarbes, the French Ambassador, who had come to England in the spring of this year (1527) to negotiate her marriage with the King of France, or with one of his sons. But there is not the least trace in the French records that the Bishop ever expressed this doubt; and had he done so, he must have referred the subject to his Court, before he signed the marriage treaty on the 20th April 1, 527. Nor did either Henry or Wolsey ever state at Rome that the Bishop had expressed this doubt, though it would have greatly helped their cause there. This falsehood, however, was circulated by them in England, where it could not be contradicted.

Somewhat in the same manner, Mr. Froude has circulated the fiction that Clement VII. was a "shifty old man," only anxious to defer giving sentence in favour of Henry's first marriage in the hope

of keeping England friendly, and of staving off immediate danger to the temporal power.

Nothing is further from the truth than these statements. If there was any temporising in the space of nearly seven years, during which the case for the divorce pursued its weary way, if there was any stratagem or intrigue, the Pope was certainly not to blame. And if there is any one fact more clear than another, it is the fact of Clement's uprightness, justice, and charitable forbearance in the midst of intense provocation. The same could by no means be said of the King's manner of proceeding.

When all attempts to induce Katherine to enter religion, and thus virtually to renounce her marriage, had proved unavailing, Henry was driven to the expedient of seeking a flaw in the Bull of Dispensation granted by Pope Julius. He even went so far as to ask Clement to revoke it; upon which his Holiness, greatly moved, declared that he could not do so without undermining the very foundation of his Chair and the Church. But Henry was determined that there should be but one issue to the cause, and while it was still before the Pope, he, with scant courtesy, had it tried independently by the various universities of England, France, and Italy, paying large sums in the hope of extorting a decision in accordance with his desires. Some few of the smaller universities allowed themselves to be bribed, and pronounced a sentence in his favour, but the most influential of the foreign ones, that of Paris, declared the marriage valid, by a large majority. The Pope, however, protested that universities and individuals, however learned, could not prescribe the law to him, nor define the extent of his authority, and he remarked severely on Henry's manner of attempting to extort decisions from them. The King then presented a petition to Clement, signed by the two archbishops, four of the bishops, a small number of abbots and commoners, and forty-two nobles. But although it was pretended that these names, many of which were obtained by compulsion, represented the feeling of the nation, the most distinguished of all, such as More's, Fisher's, and those of the majority of the bishops, clergy, and gentry, were remarkable by their absence.

All Henry's demands [says Mrs. Hope (page 199)] were supported by the French Ambassador, Cardinal Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, who threatened that his master would join Henry in throwing off the authority of the Church. ("Pocock Records," i., p. 449.) But the Pope always repeated that he would do nothing contrary to law, whether for Henry, the French King, or the Emperor, especially as this question concerned a sacrament of the Church (*ibid.* p. 454), that he would not remove the cause from Rome without the Queen's consent, and that whatsoever either party might do against him, he would commit himself to God, who would be

his helper. (*Ibid. ut sup.* p. 454. Benet to Henry VIII., Oct. 27, 1530.) Or, if sore pressed, he would answer that if the world fell to ruins, he would rather it did so because he did his duty than because he failed to do it. (*Ibid.* p. 457.) So immovable was he, that Benet was obliged to write to the King that nothing could be got from him by persuasion, that threats did not make him afraid, and that he himself was convinced that while, on the one side, the Pope would do nothing except by a regular suit according to law; on the other, he would do for his Majesty everything that was possible according to law. (*Ibid.* p. 458.) This was what the Pope had always professed his intention to do, and it is a striking testimony to his integrity and firmness, that Henry's own ambassador should have arrived at the conviction that such would certainly be his Holiness's course of action.

In the midst of the intrigues and ambition of Francis, the passion of Henry, the half-heartedness of the Emperor, the intoxication of Wolsey's pride and vanity, the Pope presents an affecting and pathetic picture. He alone sees the question in a purely spiritual light, and determines that whatever else happens, law and justice shall proceed from the Holy See.

It is perhaps ungracious to cavil at small defects, where so much pain has been taken to secure accuracy. But we cannot help wishing that Father Gasquet had done a little more, and had placed the book entirely above criticism. Instead of pointing out the errors in chapter xix., which he does in his excellent Introduction, we should have been grateful if he had corrected them in the text, as well as the few other expressions which occur up and down in the volume, resulting from Mrs. Hope's mistaken view of the action taken by Convocation, in the matter of the Supreme Headship.

The mistake is the more serious, because Mr. Froude and other writers of this period of English history have misrepresented that action. They would make it appear as though the bishops and clergy virtually recognised Henry's supremacy, in spiritual matters, when they paid down a sum for their pardon for having recognised Wolsey as Papal legate. The wording of the clause, purposely obscure and entangled, in order to parry the King's demands, and to avoid compromising admissions, misled Mrs. Hope, as it had done others before her. With this one reserve, we have nothing but praise for a book which meets a very decided need, and which throws so much light on a widely-misunderstood subject.

T. M. S.

Aventures de Guerre et d'Amour du Baron de Cormatin.
 Par HENRI WELSCHINGER. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1894.

M. WELSCHINGER is here again occupied in his favourite task of endeavouring to reverse some of the verdicts of history. His present hero, a general in the Royalist army in Brittany, has been hardly dealt with by both sides for his conduct of the negotiations with the Republicans. During his subsequent long imprisonment he carried on a tender correspondence with a certain Marquise du Feu-ardent. These adventures of love and war are narrated by M. Welschinger in such a way as to excite little interest. As we have had occasion to remark in noticing his previous works, he is at his best in collecting materials. His mode of presenting the evidence and his decisions do not always call for praise.

L'Abbaye du Mont St. Michel. Par G. DUBOUCHET. Paris: Lethielleux. (3 francs 50 c.)

THIS admirable little book is the first of a series of volumes on Christian art in France. The publishers could not have done better than by beginning with the famous abbey-fortress-prison of Mont St. Michel. Its history dates back to the time of the Druids. Nearly every style of architecture may be found there, and found, too, in most favourable specimens. Of the book itself, we can only say that it is quite worthy of the glorious subject with which it deals. The arrangement is lucid, the style interesting. A map, a large ground-plan, and well-nigh seventy illustrations from the pencil of the author, prove that no pains have been spared. Some of the views are encumbered with scaffolding required for the restorations. We hope that fresh ones will be inserted in future editions when the buildings will have been completed.

The Monastery of the Grand Chartreuse. English Edition, abridged from the French. London: Burns & Oates.

THE dwelling-place of a Carthusian, and the life that he leads there—so different from worldly abodes and worldly careers—have ever been the subject of a laudable curiosity. At the same time, many even well-informed Catholics know hardly anything about the inside of these monasteries. The little book, whose title is given above, can be heartily recommended to all who wish for an interesting account of the mother house of them all. Within a short com-

pass will be found a sketch of the history of the Order, a description of the buildings, past and present, an account of the way in which the Carthusian spends his days and nights, and a summary of the spirit of the Order, together with a convincing justification of its existence. Did not the austerities alarm him, the reader would feel tempted to say to the pious author: "In a little thou persuadest me to become a Carthusian." We must not forget to mention the excellent views of interiors and exteriors of the various buildings. Our only regret is that the absence of any ground-plan makes it difficult to follow some of the descriptions.

Psychologia Rationalis sive Philosophia de Anima Humana in usum scholarum. Auctore BERNARDO BOEDDER, S.J. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder. 1894. 8vo, pp. 344.

TO write a course of Philosophy which is not a mere abridgment of courses already published is, perhaps, a heavier task than a single writer can hope to satisfactorily accomplish. Accordingly, when the Jesuit Fathers of the English Province projected the publication of a course of philosophy, it was a wise step on their part to entrust the writing of the various treatises to a number of writers, each of whom was especially qualified for the subject assigned to him, instead of entrusting the entire series to a single individual. A similarly wise distribution of labour has been observed in a series of philosophical manuals published in Latin by some German Fathers of the Society. The writer of "Psychologia Rationalis," Fr. Boedder, is already favourably known to English readers by his "Natural Theology," which was published amongst the "Catholic Manuals of Philosophy." The reputation which his "Natural Theology" won for him will not be in any way impaired by his "Psychologia Rationalis." His present treatise, like his earlier one, is characterised by German thoroughness, and by far greater clearness than we are accustomed to find in German writers, no matter in what language they may write. It is difficult to single out particular chapters for special commendation where all the chapters are excellent, but we may mention as, perhaps, unusually good the chapters which bear upon the *ratio particularis* and upon the freedom of the will. The *ratio particularis* is treated with greater fulness and distinctness than is customary in scholastic treatises. The freedom of the will is discussed at considerable length, and the objections to the doctrine are in most cases admirably met. We do not think indeed that Fr. Boedder has rightly appre-

hended the mind of St. Thomas with respect to the relation of the last practical judgment to the action of the will. But this is of course a matter of opinion. Fr. Boedder evidently intends to be loyal to the great teacher, and one of the many excellences of his treatise is, that it is throughout heavily charged with quotations from St. Thomas. Our author's treatise completes the series that has been published by the German Jesuits. If the other treatises are of equal value with the "*Psychologia Rationalis*," the series must be one of singular merit.

Epitome Synodorum seu Excerpta Practica ex Decretis Conciliorum Provincialium Westmonasteriensium. Art and Book Company: Londini et Leamingtoniae. 1894.

A VERY useful little booklet is the "*Epitome Synodorum*." With its assistance one can get up readily and have at one's fingers' ends many of the more important practical decrees of the four provincial councils of Westminster. It will not of course take the place of the full and authoritative collection of the decrees, but with the "*Epitome*" as a book to thoroughly master, and the fuller publication at hand for occasional reference, one can obtain an acquaintance at once necessary and sufficient with the legislation of the restored Hierarchy of England.

The Theory of Inference. By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A., Author of "*Principles of Natural and Supernatural Morals*." London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1894. 8vo, pp. 256.

IN the case of physical science the demonstrator can place before the disciple the entire ground which he has himself traversed from starting-point to finish. The principles of the science are facts of sensible experience or intuitions of the mind. The process is one of vigorous demonstration. Thus, step by step, the disciple proceeds with the demonstrator till he reaches the scientific conclusions and sees their truth with his own eyes. Nothing is assumed; nothing is taken on the authority of another. Assent is yielded because it is compelled by evidence. Such being the case, physical science is regarded by many, not only as the queen of the sciences, but also, properly speaking, as the only science worthy of the name. With them science stands for physical science and has no other

significance. What is incapable of rigorous demonstration must be regarded with suspicion; at least unconditional and unqualified assent must be refused to it. It would be folly to yield such an assent to any result of physical investigation which was not established in all the vigour of logic. It must then equally be folly to yield this assent in any other subject matter where assent is not compelled by evidence. It is folly then to accept the doctrines of religious faith, since these are incapable of rigorous demonstration. Those who view things from this standpoint contradict, by so doing, the attitude which they assume in some of the most important relations of life. What man could, *e.g.*, establish in a manner that would satisfy all the requirements of logic the fact that he really is the son of those whom he has always regarded as his parents? As St. Augustine has pointed out, in his treatise "*De utilitate credendi*," if, not content with the moral certainty which excludes every prudent doubt, we require in all things the absolute certainty which constitutes evidence, the bonds of affection and mutual confidence which bind together children and parents, husbands and wives, citizens and fellow-citizens must be snapped asunder. The truth is that with respect to the ordinary affairs of everyday life we are constantly making and acting upon inferences which it would be impossible to rigorously prove. We have in these cases to content ourselves with moral certainty; if we require more, the business of life must come to a standstill. The "*Theory of Inference*" is, indeed, an investigation upon everything relating to logical inference from its foundation upwards, but it is intended primarily as a defence and explanation of the habit of assenting to propositions which are not capable of strict demonstration, and thus, indirectly, at least, the work has a bearing on theology. Mr. Hughes always writes with clearness, great fairness, and moderation, and not infrequently with much force of argument. Some of his criticisms on the system of John Stuart Mill, especially those contained in the chapter on the "*Uniformity of Nature*," are characterised by uncommon acuteness. His work will not, indeed, compare in value with Cardinal Newman's "*Grammar of Assent*," which was written with a similar purpose, but it is nevertheless a very useful addition to the scanty literature of its extremely important subject.

Theologia Dogmatica Generalis. Auctore G. DAVID, Societatis Mariæ Presbytero. Lugduni: Ex typis Emmanuelis Vitte. 1893. 8vo, pp. 934.

FATHER DAVID has, we suppose, no intention of superseding, by his work on "General Dogmatic Theology," the much abler and fuller works that have appeared on that subject. He does not inform us in whose especial interest the book was written, nor what precise purpose it was intended to serve. We presume, however, from its character that the book is intended both for priests on the mission who, while unable from their circumstances, to prosecute their studies still further, are, at the same time, desirous of retaining at least some of the theology which they learned at the seminary, and for students in seminaries who, for whatever reason, are condemned to what is popularly known as the "short course." For such the book is eminently suitable, and to them we, with all cordiality, recommend it. The work comprises treatises on the Divinity of the Christian Religion, the Divinity of the Roman Church, the Constitution of the Roman Church, and two very slight treatises on Scripture and Tradition which are stowed away in a sort of appendix. The very summary treatment of such important treatises as Scripture and Tradition is a distinct defect. The author cannot well plead want of space in excuse. He devotes more than fifty pages, or almost as much as he gives to Scripture and Tradition taken together, to proving the divinity of the Roman Church from the excellence of its doctrine and the wonderful effects it has produced. If he had contented himself with ten pages here and added the forty pages thus set free to Scripture and Tradition, he would have shown a greater sense of proportion. But if Fr. David's "Theologia Dogmatica Generalis" is not a work of high excellence, it is, at least, within the limits already mentioned, a very useful book. We cannot place it on our bookshelves next to Hettinger, but if we place it next to Schouppe it will not disgrace its neighbour.

A Retreat, consisting of Thirty-three Discourses with Meditations, for the Use of the Clergy, Religious and Others.
By the Right Rev. JOHN C. HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates. Pp. xi.-427.

BISHOP HEDLEY has laid us all under a debt of gratitude by the publication of his "Retreat." Though the subject-matter is as old as Christianity, and as trite and familiar as a household word, he deals with it in a fresh, vigorous, and original manner, which is well calculated to excite thought and arrest attention.

No retreat can really do its work thoroughly without going over old ground. The end of man; the four last things; the special duties of a Christian life; prayer, the sacraments, and the chief aids or incentives to virtue and holiness, are all of primary importance, and all have been admirably treated by the Bishop.

Still, the chapters are not mere meditations, in the ordinary sense of the word, nor are they simply instructions. They are a combination of the two. Up and down throughout the volume, are words of good advice, useful information, and passing comments, which have little to do with formal meditation, but which find a natural place during the course of a retreat.

At the close of each chapter are "Points for mental prayer." These consist of an epitome of the preceding meditation, so arranged as to enable the reader to think it out more easily in his own mind, something after the system adopted by Père Chaignon, S.J., in his *Méditations Sacerdotales*."

Bishop Hedley is so well known as a writer, that any description of his style would be superfluous. One of its most characteristic traits is the lavish use of figure, imagery, and illustration, which enliven and attract and please, as well as illustrate. Turn to his chapter on "God":

Words [he writes] which mortal lips must use to shadow forth the majesty of God are deep and pregnant and august. They come *like cool water from the depths of the earth*, out of the hidden places of man's spirit. . . . I rise [he continues] from reading of the wise, and the just, and the noble, and their record is only *the pale moonlight, waxing and waning, of an imperial Sun unseen*. . . . All these great words and thoughts are *like wandering spirits*, which on earth are never pure. . . . It is true we are connected with God—something *like the sunshine in the air is connected with the sun; or, the far off reverberation is connected with the burst of the lightning*.

These examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely.

Let us quote a passage from the chapter on "Prayer:"

Although every kind of prayer is holy and profitable, nevertheless, our progress, and even our salvation, depend in a great measure on our mental prayer. For not only does mental prayer mean an intimate and real converse with God, which vocal prayer, being composed by others, and being for the most part formal and without variation, can probably never bring to us, but our vocal prayer will remain words and nothing more, unless we practise mental prayer. . . . The hour or half-hour of mental prayer is of extreme importance in the life of one who would strive to follow Christ. It is the hour in which the soul lives; that is, lives its true life, and rehearses for that life of eternity, in which prayer, in its highest sense, will be its rapture. . . . No one has a right to be so overwhelmed with work, however excellent such work may be, as to be prevented from taking his hour or half-hour of mental prayer. . . .

In truth, it is a pernicious mistake to suppose that anyone can work for God, while neglecting mental prayer. Our work in itself is of no efficiency whatever. True, we may have certain duties to perform, which it would be wrong to neglect; but our words and acts of themselves, and except so far as God co-operates, are of no more power to move the hearts of men, or build up the kingdom of God, than the strokes of a church-bell.

Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century. By Rev. EDMUND HOGAN, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

NO genuine Irishman will receive this work with other than cordial welcome. Though covering limited ground it affords abundant sidelights into the history of Ireland in the sixteenth century. Hence for the scholar it possesses a special interest. It deals with the lives and times of eighteen members of the famous Society of Jesus at a period of special difficulty for the fortunes of Ireland. Racial troubles—an invariable quantity between the conquerors and the conquered—are intensified by a religious war, and the result is a phase of Irish history at once desperate in its policy, pathetic in its details, and, for Irish national grandeur, fatal in its results. It shows one lesson, an abiding source of hope for all time—that the mechanical forces of strength and strategy are no match for those moral forces which may be beaten but still survive. Nations may still cry out in bondage, “I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall see God.”

The growth and influence of the Jesuits is an historical fact of paramount importance. It indicates the renaissance of ecclesiastical learning in a Catholic sense, and in its noblest aspect. Profound learning and intense piety—in many cases sanctity—will command an almost unbounded sphere of influence. And both baptising the “New Learning” of the sixteenth century were a very bulwark in the hands of the Jesuits against the turbulent spirits of that turbulent time. Throughout the whole domain of learning, sacred sciences, mathematics and natural sciences, philosophy, literature, history, and, thanks to their organisation, scientific spirit, and the temper of the times, they upheld the banner of the faith, and strengthened the Church with the spoils of Egypt at a time when the Church sadly needed defenders. Though comparatively few in number, they seemed to be everywhere. Rapid in movement, prompt in action, keen in perception, in the university, or on the missions, they felt they had a destiny, and they acted up to it. Suppressed, they arose again, driven out of their halls, they poured into country districts,

gave missions, converted noblemen in their castles, and sailors in their bunks.

In 1533 St. Ignatius wrote to Cardinal Pole to ask him to co-operate in the increase of missionaries to England and Ireland, and in 1604 Aquaviva wishes Irishmen to be admitted into the Order :

By all means, let Irishmen be admitted into the Society, as they seem formed for our institute by their humility, obedience, charity and learning, in all which, according to the testimonies which come to us from all quarters, the Irish very much excel.

The result was that in the first century of the Society, there was a large influx of Irish blood into the veins of the new Order. Father Hogan, S.J., gives us in the above volume the lives of some eighteen distinguished Irishmen of the sixteenth century, who were members of the Society of Jesus. Readers of the *Month* will have read them before. Being brought together, they form an interesting volume of the quarterly series. Vivid sidelights are thrown on the hapless times in which the lives of these heroic Irishmen were thrown. Study abroad, and always with success, then home in disguise, with death staring them in the face, working across like common sailors, or dressed up as merchants, they landed in Waterford or Youghal, tracked by spies, and with a sentence of death upon them, they die on the mountain among a faithful people, or in the home of a Catholic nobleman, or in exile, or on the gallows. Not only were they persecuted by the common enemy, but in their own ranks troubles arose. Some of the Jesuits were what Father Hogan calls "gentlemen of the Pale," such as Father De La Field, and Father Fitzsimon, "who was a gentleman of the Pale, of known loyalty to the Crown." We, at the present day, would call them "West Britons." Their views on the merits of the case between the Irish princes and Elizabeth, even when the Pope was helping the former, could not be expected to be any but the Napoleonic, *i.e.*, the Almighty is generally on the winning side. As a result that chivalrous character, Brother Dominic Collins, S.J., is reported to Aquaviva by De La Field to be taken prisoner among the rebels in arms, when he was cooped up in Dunboy. The Anti-Irish sentiments of Father De La Field as a gentleman of the Pale were, says Father Hogan,

perhaps very proper, and then he proceeds to vindicate Brother Dominic Collins, which he does with success. But then the position is delicate. If De La Field is right in his sentiments about the merits of the case between Elizabeth and the Irish, then Brother Dominic Collins is a rebel ; if, as Father Hogan well establishes, though we are not in love with the refinements of the argument, Brother Dominic is a real and genuine martyr, what becomes of Father De La Field's "sympathies

which were naturally, and perhaps very properly, on the English side" (p. 99).

Or again, take the case of Father James Archer, the "Unionist." Jesuits around Dublin, Father Holywood and De La Field, who were his superiors, have complaints about him, but no complaints that reflect on his honour "as a man, an Irishman, a religious, or a priest" (p. 314). Fitzsimon, another Unionist, complains that he is "too partial to the college in Salamanca," and the result of all is that he is sent abroad from Ireland. He wrote an appeal to Aquaviva: "I trust your Paternity will judge me in all charity, and will not condemn me on the report of those who know nothing of myself or my actions" (p. 314). He felt by this time that he was paying a penalty for not being "a gentleman of the Pale." And he could have sung a sixteenth-century edition of a modern melody:

Unprized are her sons till they learn to betray;
 Undistinguished they live if they shame not their sires,
 And the torch that would light them thro' dignity's way
 Must be caught from the pile where their country expires.

The fact is ecclesiastical authority in the Order was biassed against national sentiment, and was the source of keen pain. And Archer suffered for "having his sympathies" with the Irish side since such was natural and proper, as he was an Irish gentleman from Kilkenny, and still honoured there, and therefore "not a gentleman of the Pale." This impression is the only drawback in Father Hogan's book. It will leave one damper on the mind of the reader, that the sympathies of the Jesuit administration coming from the Pale were against Ireland. But wherever the personal honour, the learning, the virtues, and the fortitude of a single Jesuit mentioned among these eighteen is concerned, Father Hogan, wisely, well and patiently unfolds the case, which redounds to the greater glory of religion, the greater honour of Ireland, and the clearer setting forth of the truth.

J. T.

Pouillé du Diocèse de Bordeaux au XVIII^e Siècle—dressé d'après les documents inédits des archives de l'archevêché. Par M. le Chanoine E. ALLAIN, archiviste diocésain. Bordeaux. 1893. 4to, pp. 27.

THE tables in this valuable abstract of the diocesan archives show at a glance the state of the Church in the archdiocese of Bordeaux at three periods during the eighteenth century. They afford full information concerning the administration and financial condition of all the parishes and religious establishments existing within

the boundary of the See. These returns, having been made for the purpose of taxation, were rigidly controlled by various officials through whose hands they passed, and, therefore, may be relied on as accurate. Particulars of the revenue and taxes are given of the secular Chapters, with the officers composing them, and the collators to these titles; of the Archbishop; of 11 abbeys and 25 monastic houses for men, exclusive of the Mendicant orders, with dates of their foundation, number of inmates, and name of the order to which each respectively belonged; of 15 convents for women with like information; of the three seminaries (the Irish seminary, founded in 1603, had 24 inmates and a revenue of 2351 *livres* in 1766); of 40 priories; of 390 parishes and 35 chapels of ease, with the names of the titular saint and the patron, the population and number of communicants in 1772; besides summaries of 99 chaplainships, beneficiary societies, &c. The archbishop presented to 236 parishes, and various monastic houses were the patrons of the remainder. On turning to the calendar of the diocese for 1892, we find that all the old religious orders for men are non-existent, and in their place are the Christian Brothers and two other orders engaged in education. It is impossible to compare the other statistics with the present state of the diocese, owing to the changes effected by the Concordat of 1801, which considerably enlarged the extent of its area, but the revenues of the 663 livings at present "recognised by the Government" fall considerably below the figures given in these returns, and many a parish priest is now "passing rich on forty pounds a year," or even less.

It will be perceived how precious is the information supplied by this census, and how interesting similar returns of the Catholic Church in England, taken on the eve of the Reformation and at later dates, would prove, if set forth in a manner as lucid as this work of Canon Allain's.

R. T.

Records relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. By the Very Rev. JOHN CANON MONAHAN, V.G. Dublin: Gill & Son.

DR. MONAHAN calls his volume, "Records," *i.e.*, the materials out of which history grows. Records the documents are, but of varying worth—from the Papal brief excerpted from Theiner, blown to the ephemeral congratulatory letter of a friend on the filling up of a bishopric. The author placed before himself an important object—

to collect and publish a fairly readable record of the names of the Prelates that succeeded SS. Mel and Kieran in the government of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise down to the present time: to accentuate the chief ecclesiastical events occurring within the limits of these Dioceses during their Episcopate, and to touch remarkable historic facts that took place outside the boundaries of their Sees, but with which they had notable connection. (Preface, p. viii.)

The learned compiler has amassed a considerable quantity of historic matter which, if carefully put in order, would furnish us with a valuable work. But the work is considerably marred by the want of structure in the book. Bookmaking is an art—the subject-matter must be arranged on some tolerable principle, and some sequence of events in chronological order must be indicated. The author, however, has thrown together with an obviously loose hand his multifarious items in a perplexing way. For instance, we have five pages on St. Mel, the founder of the See of Ardagh—a topic that takes us back to St. Patrick—and then, under a new heading, we have two pages on the New Cathedral of St. Mel, Longford, which is just leaving the hands of the painters at the present moment; and all this before you reach page 9. Then, at page 8, he deals with the Boundaries of Ardagh Diocese, and on the second page of this heading he pours forth, without any change of pen, the Episcopal succession (under the heading of Boundaries) down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, where he crosses Bishop O'Farrell. He turns away on the new trail, lets the succession drop, and pursues the O'Farrell sept—the Princes of Anally, their family seats, their various branches, and martyrs, and military men of fame. A descent from Milesius himself with a crossing by Queen Mab, is something that no respectable Celt need be ashamed of; and so the author gives us the full O'Farrell glory spread over his pages. A few more pages—a few Papal documents—the decrees of the Provincial Synod of Armagh, given because Cornelius Gaffney of Ardagh was secretary to the Synod—bring us down to 1729, when Ardagh and Clonmacnoise were united, and thus we find ourselves working up Clonmacnoise along the stream of history in nearly the same style, with abrupt transitions, and a fine contempt for order. The author fairly revels in his matter. All things come fair to his net—bishops and priests abroad who came from Ardagh Diocese; an Examination *in extenso* before the Education Enquiry in 1827; congratulatory letters, many of them tokens of friendship, but not grave documents; Roman negotiations, Pastorals; appeals for subscriptions, funeral orations, several pages on Positivism, and Cardinal Cullen's views on having an English Ambassador in Rome to transact Irish ecclesiastical business. When all is said and done, it is a volume compiled on

quite independent principles, and has several good features, one being that educated readers of various tastes will find something in their line in the miscellany, but when and where (another favourable point) they must read the book to discover.

J. T.

Saint Antoine de Padoue. Par le R. P. LÉOPOLD de Chéraneé, O.M.C. Paris: Libraire Ch. Poussielgue. 1894.

DON FERNANDO DE BOUILLON, better known as St. Anthony of Padua, and a direct descendant of the great Christian leader in the First Crusade, was born at Lisbon in 1195. His *Life*, the latest publication of the *Bibliothèque Franciscaine*, is written by one who has already contributed other volumes to the series, and is a scholarly and edifying account of one of the most famous preachers and wonder-workers of the Middle Ages. St. Anthony was barely thirty-seven when he died, and he was canonised within a year of his death; his mother, if not his father, was alive to see the joyful day, and the bells of his native Lisbon rang of themselves a joyous peal whilst the ceremony was proceeding at Spoleto.

The basis of this new *Life* is an almost contemporary chronicle, unknown to the Bollandists, and only recently discovered in the Capuchin Convent at Lucerne; composed by order of the Franciscan General shortly after the Saint's death, this actual MS. dates from the early part of the fourteenth century. In some details it differs from the later lives of the Saint, but has especial authority as being itself based upon the process of his canonisation. To English readers it is further interesting from the fact of its author being identified as John Peckham, a Sussex friar, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Our author gives an interesting account of a wonderful revival of devotion to St. Anthony, of which Toulon seems to be the centre. Perhaps it was under the influence of the recent visit of the Russian fleet to that port that he penned the following outburst of patriotism:

There dwells in the heart of the universe a nation which in the modern world holds the place filled in ancient times by the people of Israel; a nation towards which God Himself shows a predilection for which He renders no man an account; a nation which, contemplating itself in the two seas of which it holds the sceptre, slumbers confidently each night beneath the shelter of its mountains, and draws not its sword save to defend an Idea. It is the nation of St. Clotilda, of Clovis, of Charlemagne; it is the eldest daughter of the Church; *c'est la France!* (p. 46).

J. L. C.

Hibernica Minora, a Fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter. Edited by KUNO MEYER. The Clarendon Press. 1894.

THIS is another volume in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series that must render Celtic students further indebted to the industry and scholarship of Professor Kuno Meyer. The main purpose of the book is concerned with the publication of a fragment of an Old-Irish commentary on the 1st Psalm from the Bodleian codex, Rawlinson B. 512, with accession of a hardly secondary object in a generous Appendix of diverse matters in prose and poetry excerpted from the same source. An examination of the copious measure of samples thus furnished creates so favourable an impression of the valuable nature of the contents of this MS. as to make evident that it must be appreciated as ranking only just after the later class of our Great Books, and that it deserves regard as affording some precious supplementary material with promise of additional reference ordinates for the solution of certain long-standing verbal and textual puzzles, and, therefore, that it ought to be brought within the reach of scholars as soon as possible by some process of photographic reproduction. Prof. Meyer treats the exegetical fragment exhaustively. After a descriptive introduction he prints his text in *fac-simile*. A critical recension, with translation, follows, based on the *facsimile* version, with restored spelling, emendations of clerical errors, and incorporation of the variant material supplied by another source. Thereafter comes an identification of references and a copious Irish-Latin glossary. A mere fragment (474 lines only), the introduction to a goodly work, it is diffuse in context and of mainly linguistic interest. It is conjectured that it is an instance of survival from the literary cataclysm of the period of Norse depredation.

The appendix, comprising some historical, some semi-mythological matter from the northern cycle of tales, some hagiology, some ecclesiology, besides other things, is very curious. Of these, the most noteworthy are the example of "Kennings" in verse, the piece entitled *Erchoitmed Inghine Gulidi*—i.e. "The Excuse of Gulide's Daughter," "The Story of Mac Datho's Pig and Hound," and a remarkable invocatory litany addressed to the Godhead and to the Trinity under titles springing from the most sublime conception of Divine attributes. Except in the case of one or two short extracts the Appendix is also furnished with a translation throughout. A couple of examples of oversight: p. 71, 1, *ar bátar oca ind fír*, should be rendered, "for the men were beside it"; p. 41, *Gabail ic fannaib*, means, not "standing by the weak," but "indulging, forgiving the weak." Also the editor's opinions might be disputed in a few matters

trifling detail. Altogether, while the printing and mounting of the book are worthy of the prestige enjoyed by the Clarendon Press, critical value is what we should expect from an editor of such special experience and equipment as Professor Meyer.

R. H.

The Coming of Cuculain. By STANDISH O'GRADY. London: Methuen. 1894.

MR. O'GRADY'S works, like the great cycles of Gaelic literature, may be divided into three parts. This *divisio triplex* is unquestionable antiquity. There is a Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. *Omnis Gallia divisa est in partes tres*, says Cæsar. "Omne trinum perfectum" comes from the schools. And so Mr. O'Grady's works are threefold: historical, historico-romantic, and legendary. Of his historical style and value we formerly gave our views of his "Storm of Ireland," a book against which we warned the young men of Ireland and against which we hesitate not to warn them again. His historico-romantic style—what is commonly known as the historical novel—is seen in "The Captivity of Red Hugh"—a work not quite so indiscreet as the above "story" but indiscreet enough. We can speak more highly of his legendary tales than we can of any other. From which it doth appear that Mr. O'Grady's success as a writer varies in direct ratio to the distance he keeps from all historical matter. The "Coming of Cuculain" is a romance of the heroic age of Ireland, and you have not advanced far before you discover that when Mr. O'Grady finds a heroic topic he wields his pen in heroic style. Battles, encounters, banquets, goblets, spears, raids, enchantments, forays, shields clanging in battle, and forests and hills trembling at the sight, and all in a wild strain of Ossianic rhetoric, à la McPherson (which really suits the gigantic events of the ancient heroes), are the embellishments of the short tale of the boyhood of Cuculain. The latter was obviously a champion, and some of his fights are entertaining reading; while in Deidrè—the ancient Celtic Jephtha—there is a very refined embodiment of a noble idea. Of course we purposely abstain from indicating anything further about Cuculain, as we prefer our readers to encourage Mr. O'Grady to continue his labours in embodying some more of the great heroic legends of Firbolgian and Femorian times, by turning the book itself.

J. T.

Dictionnaire de la Bible. Publié par F. VIGOUROUX. Fascicule VI. Beck—Bigamie. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, Editeurs.

WE gladly welcome the appearance of the sixth *fascicule* of the Abbé Vigouroux's "Dictionnaire de la Bible." The learned abbé's name is a sufficient guarantee that the work is conducted on strictly orthodox lines, and that it contains all that can be said in defence of traditionary views. Perhaps it is hardly necessary for us to remind our readers that the new *Dictionnaire* meets a decided want. Science advances apace now-a-days, and no sciences have progressed more rapidly than archaeology and Biblical criticism, owing, to a large extent, to the momentous discoveries which have been made among the ruins of the ancient cities of the East, and the consequent light that has been thrown upon the history of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and other countries brought in contact with the Israelites in ancient days. The result has been that we now know a vast deal more of the history of Israel than was known a century ago; and accordingly much of our Jewish history wants re-writing and filling in, whilst our Bible Dictionaries, written some years ago, want bringing up to date. The new *Dictionnaire* undertakes to treat all subjects relating to the Old Testament in the light of the most recent modern discoveries, and to answer all the latest objections of critics against the sacred books. There are no very exhaustive articles in the present number, which, however, contains interesting notices of *Les Travaux des Bénédictins sur les Saintes Ecritures, Bethel, Bethsaida, &c.* No Catholic Biblical library will be complete without a copy of this able work.

A. H.

The Sacred Scriptures; or, The Written Word of God. By W. HUMPHREY, S.J. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894.

THE work of Father Humphrey, which we have before us, is not altogether new. It appeared before, in 1877, under the title of "The Written Word; or, Considerations on the Sacred Scriptures," and is now given to the public in an altered form, and under a new name, so as to render it more likely to meet the needs of the day. Father Humphrey's book is written in his usual lucid and readable style, and contains the more general teaching of theologians respecting the inspiration of Sacred Scripture, and the place it holds in regard to the divinely instituted means for the preservation and propagation of Christian doctrine and discipline. There are also chapters dealing with tradition, and certain criteria of divinity of

ctrine—viz., the consent of the faithful, the testimony of the fathers, and the teaching of the schools. It is hardly necessary for us to enter into detail as to the subject-matter of these chapters, which set forth in a luminous way what Catholics in general hold on these points. We may say, however, that of late years there has been a tendency in many quarters to adopt a broader view in reference to Inspiration than would perhaps be consistent with the teaching of Father Humphrey.

We read with much interest the chapter dealing with the Latin Vulgate; but though it seems to us a very fair treatment of the case, there is just one point with which we do not find ourselves in agreement:

We do, however, maintain [writes Father Humphrey (p. 251)] that no dogmatic text is to be found in the Latin Vulgate which was not also contained in the original Scriptures. It cannot be that the Holy Ghost would permit an edition to be proposed as authentic which contains a spurious text. A spurious text would thereby be set before the faithful as sacred and canonical scripture, or, in other words, as divinely inspired. The written word of man would in that case be declared to be the Written Word of God.

Such teaching would seem to go beyond the necessities of the case. Take such a text as that of the three heavenly witnesses. Are we bound to hold the authenticity of that verse? Certainly not. Such an orthodox theologian as the Jesuit Father Cornely leaves its genuineness an open question; and it seems to me that Catholics are free to follow the weight of evidence on the matter. In any case, Father Humphrey's argument in the passage quoted above, would apply to any text in the Bible as well as to strictly dogmatic ones.

We must not conclude our notice without thanking the learned author for the publication of what is likely to prove a thoroughly serviceable work. We heartily recommend it to all Catholic readers who are anxious to learn what theologians have to say on the subject of Holy Scripture.

J. A. H.

Introduction to the New Testament. I.—St. Paul's Epistles. GODET. Translated from the French by W. AFFLECK, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

M. GODET is an accomplished Biblical scholar, and everything he writes on the New Testament deserves careful consideration. The present work is, as he tells us himself, "the fruit of the teaching of forty years, during which each alternate year has always been devoted to the particular Introduction to the New Testament, the other to the general Introduction." We may take it that this

last work of his, to be followed, if he is spared, by two other volumes, one on the Gospels and the Acts, the other on the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, resumes the teaching of his life, developed, matured, and modified by time and constant study and reflection.

The present volume is therefore a valuable addition to our Biblical libraries. Still, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that it is wanting in much of the life and interest which had such a charm in the earlier studies of M. Godet. Perhaps this is inseparable from the character of the work. For a very large proportion of the volume before us is devoted to an exposition of the contents of the Epistles, more or less of a theological character; and there is naturally much in these pages which is dry and uninteresting, and, we may add, with which we are far from being in harmony.

M. Godet is a staunch supporter of the authenticity of thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles; and he defends with much ability the Pauline authorship of the three Pastoral Epistles. It is refreshing in these days of doubt and destructive criticism, to meet with a man of M. Godet's undoubted scholarship and independence coming forward in defence of the genuineness of the New Testament writings, and we hope he may be spared to bring to completion the other volumes of his Introduction to the New Testament.

The Epistle to the Hebrews does not find a place in the present volume. That was to be expected; for we know from M. Godet's *Studies on the Epistles* (chap. xi.) that he does not believe it to have emanated from St. Paul. "To us it seems certain," he says in one place (p. 338), "that the admirable epistle we have been studying is not from the pen of Paul." He does not venture to decide between the conflicting claims of Barnabas, Apollos, Aquila, Clement and Silas, but seems rather to favour the authorship of Silas.

M. Godet divides the thirteen Epistles of Paul, of which he treats, into four groups. The first (of the year 53) comprises the two to the Thessalonians. The second (of 54-59) embraces the Epistle to the Galatians, the two to the Corinthians, and that to the Romans. In the third group (62-64) come the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, to the Ephesians, and to the Philippians; and in the fourth (64-66), the three Pastoral Epistles.

M. Godet's work opens with a discussion of the critical work accomplished regarding the New Testament from the first century to the present day, and then sets before the reader a carefully-written life of St. Paul. This part of the volume is full of interest, and though we are not prepared to endorse all that is said in it, we may say that it will prove most instructive to the Biblical student.

J. A. H.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789-1815. By J. H. ROSE. Cambridge University Press. 1894. (4s. 6d.)

THE aim of the author of this excellent manual is not simply to add another to the many already existing works on the French Revolution, but rather to give some account of the *European* Revolution in which France played a part, and indeed the leading part. Hitherto it has been the custom, at least among English and French writers, to look at the Great Revolution from the point of view of England or France alone. The result has been that all the blame and all the credit for what was done have been assigned to one or the other of these nations, according to the prejudice of the writers. This attempt to isolate a country from its environment—to study it apart from the other forces with which it is compounded—can only lead to error. Anyone who wishes to have a thorough grasp of the great revolutionary era must examine the state of Europe as a whole, and must note the action of the smaller as well as of the greater Powers. Then he may hope to understand why the upheaval first took place in France; why the attempts of the other Governments failed to crush it; why the counter-attacks of the French revolutionaries met with such stupendous success; why these in turn were ultimately beaten back; and lastly, how much the Revolution has destroyed and what it has built up. Nothing but approval therefore can be given to the scope and purpose which Mr. Rose has in view. If we turn to the way in which he has carried out his design he must also be pronounced as worthy of high praise, though of course in dealing with so vast a subject and one so exposed to party and national prejudice he cannot hope to be entirely free from defect. The recent deluge of publications bearing on the period which he has chosen has enabled him to keep clear of many of the mistakes committed by his predecessors. He has made a special study of the influence of English commerce; and hence, while careful to avoid overriding his hobby, he has been able to account for “the trend of events” (a favourite expression of his) at various stages of the prolonged wars. English policy appears in his pages as a mixture of greatness and pettiness, of selfishness and self-denial, of wasteful folly and economic wisdom. He points out with great clearness and force that England’s monopoly of the sea and the tyrannous use which she made of it forced Napoleon into his Continental system and drove him to that Russian campaign which proved his ruin. The tangle of diplomacy which presents so much confusion and difficulty to writers who do not take a European view of the situation, is unravelled by Mr. Rose with a sure and skilful hand. A short manual affords little scope for any description

of the mighty contests which are, it must be acknowledged, the objects of the most absorbing interest in the study of this period; yet he contrives by a few clear and vigorous strokes to give us a more distinct and vivid notion than many elaborate accounts. The Waterloo campaign may be instanced as an excellent example of his method and style. As to the colossal figure who towers above all his contemporaries and is finally pulled down only by a combination of them all, Mr. Rose is not quite so successful. Napoleon, according to him, is the child of his age rather than its ruler. But why not both? In no other time could he have done his work, nor could that work have been done by any other man. He did not raise the tempest; yet he was not merely borne along by it. Rather is he like the spirit who

Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

A word or two about the book itself. The maps are excellent, but why are they confined to central Europe? A map of Europe as a whole, and maps of the Peninsula and Russia should be added. Plans of the great campaigns and battles would take up little room, nay, they would be a saving of space because less letterpress would be needed. The plan of the Waterloo campaign (the only one given) gives us clearer notions than pages of description. One slight omission should be noted. Grouchy, the last (and the least) of the marshals, is not mentioned in the list of those officers.

T. B. S.

Venice. By ALTHEA WIEL. Story of the Nations Series.
London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. xxxiii.—478.

THE story of beautiful Venice—of that “Most Serene Republic” which grew out of a city founded by fugitives—forms a welcome addition to this series of historical sketches of the nations that have won for themselves a place in the world’s history. There is a splendour that captivates the understanding about all that appertains to this wonderful city—its situation, its aspect, its development, and even its decadence. The charm of mystery that hangs over its origin in the dim past is followed up and intensified by the bright pattern of civic patriotism set by its citizens, and by the dogged determination which rescued its unstable banks from the ravages of sea and tempest, and made them strong enough to contain the foundations of those noble buildings, glittering churches, and long ranges of palaces, that are still numbered among the triumphs of man’s skill. It is truly wonderful to see how those

early fugitives, flying before their enemies on the mainland, raised their city amid the shifting of the waters, and by their energy and enterprise magnified that city into a state in whose countless argosies were borne the produce and the commerce of the mediæval world. Then, too, there is the marvel of the city's unique situation, the strange rising of her structures, as at the wave of an enchanter's wand, out of an expanse of waters that lay around in leagues of suppling lustre, with the white sea-birds wheeling over head. Her people were the citizens of no mean city; they raised themselves inevitably into "most potent, grave, and reverend signiors," whose words were powerful in the counsels of nations; whose flag was known on every sea, and who even claimed the restless ocean as their obedient bride. Nor is it surprising, in view of all these material claims to our attention, that Venice should have been able to impose upon us the additional claim of her superiority in the arts. For generations she was the home and the patron of art. It was the pride of her citizens to build solidly and splendidly, and to cherish and exalt the genius of the mighty men of the pen and brush that claimed her as their mother.

Venice, too, many as are her recommendations in the eyes of the world at large, should have special attractions for us Englishmen. She was what we now are—the great carrier of sea-borne commerce, and therefore necessarily a foremost maritime power. If we rule the waves, she wedded them. And not that only; she is everlastingly enshrined in some of the highest productions of our own native literature. As Byron finely says:

Unto us she hath a spell beyond
Her name in story, and her long array
Of mighty shadows, whose dim forms despond
Above the dogeless city's vanished sway;
Ours is a trophy which will not decay
With the Rialto; Shylock and the Moor,
And Pierre, cannot be swept or worn away—
The keystones of the arch! though all were o'er,
For us repeopled were the solitary shore.

The present volume, therefore, comes pleasantly to hand. The authoress has the qualifications of having written previous works upon the history of Venice, and of that acquaintance with the city which can only be obtained by lengthened sojourn in it. She makes no pretension to original research, but endeavours, and, we think, with success, to tell the story of Venice, plainly, clearly, and soberly. We say soberly, and would emphasise the word; for it must be confessed that she does not seem to have been very heartily inspired by her subject. The language certainly lacks the animation, the

warmth, and the colour which, in a popular sketch, we consider the public may with reason expect, and which, we should have thought, her theme would have enkindled. In this respect we fear that the work will disappoint. For some reason or other, and seemingly of set purpose and design, the authoress adheres rigidly—too rigidly, we think—to the mere political history of the city and its republic. We are told next to nothing about the artists and authors of her palmy days, whose names will live when the sea-girt walls are worn away before wind and wave. They are dismissed in a short chapter, whilst nearly as much space is allowed for the intricacies of a political dispute with Rome. We are given no pictures of Venice as she varied from age to age. Such pictures would have afforded rest and enlightenment between the stages of the narrative. Who would not have been grateful for a sketch of the characteristics of Venice as she changed through the ages, under Orseolo, Dandolo, Titian, Sarpi, and the cloud of great names upon her roll of honour?

We cannot say that the authoress has chosen the “better part,” but we are still free and happy to acknowledge that what she has undertaken she has performed honestly and well.

The story of the connection between Venice and her patron, St. Mark, is one of no little interest, and meets with adequate treatment. The legend ran that St. Mark, forced to take refuge from the fury of a storm on one of the islands of the lagunes, was told in a vision that his bones should one day find, there, rest and veneration. This inspired the Venetians with a desire to obtain his relics, and the manner in which they accomplished it merits admiration for its ingenuity. Two Venetian merchants, trafficking at Alexandria, by liberal bribes, obtained possession of the relics of the saint from the guardians of the Church of St. Mark in that city. Then, to evade the vigilance of the Custom House, they craftily hid the body at the bottom of a basket, which they filled up with pork. The Moslems, of course, turned away in disgust from examining the defiling parcel of swine's flesh, and the sacred treasure of relics was safely transferred to Venice, where it arrived on January 31st, 828.

The work is also fitted with a table of contents and copious index, together with a list of the Doges. It is clearly if not elegantly printed. Many maps and illustrations are given, copies of old prints, &c., but their manner of reproduction should not pass without criticism in these days when excellent and artistic processes are so cheap and so widely attainable.

J. B. M.

Hebrew Syntax. By Rev. W. B. DAVIDSON, LL.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street.

BY publishing this syntax, which, as the preface informs us, partly contains the lectures which for some time had been dictated, Dr. Davidson has rendered a great and valuable service to students of Hebrew. We therefore heartily welcome this syntax as a practical, useful, and scholarly-written book. No doubt the work of compiling a Hebrew syntax was to a great extent already prepared by scholars such as Ewald, Gesenius, and Driver. Dr. Davidson's syntax, however, presents this twofold advantage, that it adds to the results already obtained the fruits of the professor's own study and well-known scholarship, and that it surpasses all previous Hebrew grammars by the clear, methodical, and not too elaborate manner in which its matter is arranged, so that the principles and rules laid down in it can easily be understood and remembered.

Until the beginning of this century, the study of Hebrew syntax was much neglected. Students of Hebrew too often contented themselves with having acquired the rudiments of Hebrew grammar. To be able to translate, it was thought sufficient to know the conjugation of the regular and irregular verb, the rules for the formation of the plural and *status constructus*, the pronouns, and a few other essential points of the same kind. As regards the use and value of the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid not much more was known than that the former tense denotes the past and the other the future, while through the *waw conversive* the one is frequently changed into the other. The consequence of this defective knowledge of Hebrew syntax was that several verses were wrongly translated,

Owing, however, to the continued labour of the scholars whose names we have mentioned and of others, the knowledge of Hebrew syntax has been greatly improved. Restricting ourselves, for want of space, to that section of syntax which contains the rules for the use of the tenses, we should like just to point out a few instances which mark considerable progress. As we have already indicated, the theory concerning the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid, formerly held, was that they denote past and future. Since this principle is wrong, no sound rules of minor detail could be derived from it.

Through careful observation of the various combinations in which the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid are found, scholars came to the conclusion that the former tense denotes an action as completed (*actio perfecta*), the latter, on the contrary, as incomplete and hence as

still continuing (*actio imperfecta*); and that both are independent of past and future.

On this principle, as on a secure basis, a system of rules regulating in detail the use of the tenses 'Abar and 'Athid, could be built with comparative certainty. Of these rules we wish to mention two or three which may serve as examples, and at the same time show how important they are for correctly translating.

The *Simple Perfect* (the *actio perf.* without *waw conversive*), for instance, is often used where we would use a pluperfect, (a) in dependent (relative and conjunctive) clauses, to denote that one of two actions was completed before the other. Gen. ii. 8: "Wherein He placed the man whom He *had* made." (b) In sentences containing a circumstance, anterior to the stage at which a narrative has arrived, in which case the subject is placed before the verb. Gen. xxxi. 33, 34: "And Laban entered Rachel's tent. But Rachel *had* taken (Vulgate *abscondit*) the theraphim, and put them in the camel's furniture, and sat upon them." Rachel's hiding the theraphim had taken place before Laban entered her tent.

The *Simple Imperfect* (the *actio imperfecta* without *waw conversive*) has often a frequentative sense, to express actions of general occurrence. (a) In proverbial sayings, in comparisons, in the expression of social and other customs. Gen. x. 9: "Therefore it *is said*, as Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord." (b) Of actions customary or general in the past. Gen. ii. 6: "And a mist *used* to go up (the Douai version 'rose out') from the earth and water all the surface of the ground." Ex. xxxiii. 7: "And Moses *used* to take the tent and pitch it without the camp." (Douai version: "And Moses taking the tabernacle pitched it without the camp.")

In like manner the *Perfect* with *waw conversive* often signifies that actions were customary or habitual. I. Samuel ii. 19, 20: "And Samuel was ministering before the Lord, being a child girded with a linen ephod. And a little robe his mother *used* to make for him, and bring it up to him every year." I. Samuel i. 4-7: "And it happened one day that Elcana offered—now he *used* to give portions to Phenenna his wife and to her sons and daughters, but to Anna he *used* to give only one portion because she had no child. Howbeit he loved Anna, although the Lord had shut her womb. But her fellow wife *used* to vex her bitterly, in order to make her angry, because the Lord had shut her womb. And thus she *used* to act and to provoke her every year when they went up to the house of the Lord, and thus she *used* to vex her—and Anna wept and did not eat."

The *Imperfect* with *waw conversive* is like an historic tense, used in narratives, and denotes a logical or chronological sequence of

events and ideas. We may not, therefore, translate Gen. ii. 7 "And the Lord God *had* planted a paradise" (Vulgate *plantaverat*), but we must translate: "And the Lord God planted a paradise." On the same principle verse Gen. ii. 19 may not be translated as a pluperfect as some commentators wish to do, because in the first chapter the creation of animals precedes that of man, but it should be rendered: "And the Lord God *formed* out of the ground all the beasts of the field and all the fowls of the air and brought them to Adam."

C. v. d. B.

The One Mediator ; or, Sacrifice and Sacraments. By WILLIAM HUMPHREY, S.J. Second edition, revised and enlarged. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1894.

WE are glad to see that a second edition of Fr. Humphrey's admirable work on Sacrifice and the Sacraments has been called for. We cannot have too many of such treatises on matters theological and devotional in our language. The present edition has been subjected to very careful revision. Slight inaccuracies have been corrected, and a not inconsiderable amount of matter has been added. We have, compressed into 356 pages, a great deal of doctrine concerning the Incarnate Word set forth in clear and simple—and at times—in eloquent language. Fr. Humphrey begins by exhibiting the God-Man as *morally* present in His Priests who personate Him, and as *physically* present in that which they offer. He goes on to treat of the mediatorial ministry of Christ by means of the Sacrament, and explains the sacramental system in detail. Next comes a chapter on the position of those who are living on earth outside the visible unity of the Catholic Church. This chapter is written with great accuracy and clearness. Reverting to the Incarnate Word, Fr. Humphrey treats of the "Created Holiness" and "Human Knowledge" of Christ, and explains at some length the "two lists or touchstones" (devotion to our Lady and the Sacred Heart) of true belief in the doctrines of the Incarnation. Finally, we have a chapter on "The Indwelling of the Holy Ghost," in which Fr. Humphrey very wisely sets forth the view that the sanctification of the soul is, in reality, common to the three Divine Persons, but is *appropriated* to the Holy Spirit on account of a *relation of analogy*. In respect of this point of teaching, he sides with our greatest and soundest theological thinkers, and keeps clear of fanciful theories, which are sure to rebound in a mischievous manner in the long run.

There are a few points in respect of which we differ from Fr. Humphrey. Surely there are other acts, besides the sacrificial act,

through which we acknowledge God's supreme dominion over us. Prayer may, and often does, involve that adoration which is due to God alone. So oaths and vows, &c., imply a recognition of the Supreme Being. Sacrifice has been offered *de facto* to false gods, as Fr. Humphrey says. Practically, there seems to be comparatively little use in insisting upon sacrifice as involving the *only* distinctive mark of Divine religion. We think Fr. Humphrey would have done better if he had taken a broader basis. "Sacrifice," he says (p. 2), "is as distinct from all other acts of worship or of religion as the Creator is from any one and from all of His creatures." We cannot quite follow him in this assertion.

Again (p. 27) he says: "Hence the price and dignity of this Sacrifice [the Mass] is absolutely of an *infinite value*." Of course the Sacrifice of the Mass, like that of Calvary, is of infinite value, but we are of opinion that all theologians would not agree as to its being absolutely so. The *cause* of the satisfaction of Christ was His *individual human nature*, which is *physically* finite; whether the satisfaction was infinite on account of the *hypostatic union*, or through the acceptance of God, is an open question in the schools.

These, however, are minor matters, and we have great pleasure in recommending Fr. Humphrey's work as being full of sound theological instruction. The last chapter, "The Beatific Vision of God," is clear, terse, and faultlessly accurate. F. D.

Lord Johan Fysshier: a Historical, Genealogical and Heraldic Research. By R. VON FISCHER-TREUENFELD. London: 1894.

"**N**O science," writes the author of this pamphlet, "lies under the reproach of a more reckless use of *licentia poetica* than genealogical heraldry!" Those who may care to examine for themselves this "Genealogical and Heraldic Research" will, we expect, consider the judgment amply justified. The object of the writer is to attach the Blessed John Fisher to a German family of the same name. He confesses, indeed (p. 35), that "a direct proof" that an ancestor of the martyred Cardinal of Rochester did come from Germany in the fifteenth century "has not yet been furnished," but the assumption that one Jobst Hartmann Fischer, one of the six sons of Georg Fischer, who emigrated to England about 1430 — or rather who is said to have done so — was really the grandfather of the Cardinal, runs through the pamphlet. Thus (p. 32) the author says that "the Cardinal's father had carried on a flourishing trade with Holland and Germany, from which latter place his ancestor came to England." It does not matter very

materially whether the German origin of the family be a fact or a mere theory; but in the present contribution towards the genealogy of the Fishers we fail to find any evidence of the fact whatever.

Occasional Essays. By the Rt. Rev. FRANCIS CHATARD, D.D., Bishop of Vincennes. Pp. 376. New York: Cath. Pub. Society.

THIS is a miscellaneous collection of some four-and-twenty short papers, which the Bishop has contributed at various times during the past five-and-twenty years to the *Catholic World*, or other periodicals. All sorts of subjects are treated, differing from one another as widely as "The Vatican Council" and the "Frequency of Suicide," the "Truth of Miracles" and "Total Abstinence," the "Souls of Brutes" and "Max Müller's Chips."

The papers differ in merit almost as much as in subject, and have evidently been composed *currente calamo*—and without any great trouble, study, or research.

Some of the chapters are decidedly instructive and readable; for instance, that on the "Frequency of Suicide." Others, on the other hand, strike us as weak. There is a want of grip and proportion in the essays on "Herbert Spencer" and on "Max Müller's Chips," and on "Darwin's Mistake," as though the writer were but partially acquainted with these three celebrated writers and their voluminous works and treatises.

When he comes to speak on "Land Tenure and Eminent Domain," he deals indeed with a difficult as well as a practical question, but we read through his interesting and eminently readable contribution to the literature of that subject, feeling the real problem has not by any means been solved.

The subject of Total Abstinence occupies three chapters, and they set before us not only all that Catholic theology has to say of importance on the point, but a good deal that medical authorities have to remark also.

What the English call the hob-nailed liver [a term we have not yet come across] is a terrible and incurable condition brought about by excess of alcoholic stimulants. It consists in a chronic inflammation of the membrane of the liver which dips into the organ everywhere, and holds its small lobes together. The inflamed condition caused by alcohol causes it to contract, to squeeze the lobes, to interfere with their action, and the result is that what should pass through the liver naturally, is impeded, and dropsy incurable is the result, the early stage of which is the bloated condition of the features, the latter pronounced dropsy, especially of the heart, resulting in death. This of itself, it seems to us, should put one on his guard in the use of intoxicants; while it should be the reason for not a few to enter a total abstinence society. Certainly

there is nothing more deplorable than to witness such effects in a man, whose future, but for his folly, would have been so different. How many, in the very midst of a brilliant career, have gone down to a drunkard's grave in this way (p. 333).

The little volume is neatly got up, bound in cloth boards, and enriched with a short preface by the author.

Have Anglicans Valid Orders? By E. ANSTICE BAKER. Pp. 20.
Art and Book Company.

THIS is an excellent little treatise, and should find its way everywhere. In these twenty pages, is condensed the wisdom of many learned volumes, which thousands have neither the time to read nor the money to purchase.

There is but one fault we have to find with Mr. Baker's little pamphlet, and that is so important a one, that we hope it may be corrected in the future editions, which are sure to be called for. We refer to some of his references. For instance, on p. 3, we are referred to "An Ancient Editor's Note Book," but no page is given. Again in note (*g*) the only reference is "Cobbett." Even the chapter is not mentioned. In note (*n*) we are sent to "The Reformation of the Prayer-book," by Nicholas Pocock, but no further information is vouchsafed. In note (*w*) we are informed that the passage quoted comes from "Hutton on Anglican Orders," but without any further detail.

And there are several other instances of a similar kind. No one has ever had much to do with arguing on disputed points, without realising the immense importance of clear and precise references. Nothing is so vexatious as to possess within one's hands telling and convincing evidence—to know it lies stored up within the covers of some authoritative volume, or learned work—and yet not to be able to point to the very passage and context in the original.

The pamphlet is poorly got up, and printed in small type. It really deserves a more presentable dress, as it is a valuable contribution to the literature of a subject of actual and burning interest.

J. S. V

Reviews in Brief.

Our Lady of Good Counsel. By GEORGINA GOUGH. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1894.—This is a very brightly written and interesting account of the Picture and Shrine of our Lady of Good Counsel at Genazzano. Our thoughts are lovingly directed towards our Blessed Lady, as “the cause of our joy,” and our devotion is intensified by the faith and piety which breathe through these pages. This little work bears the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Birmingham. The preface is by his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster.

Lourdes Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow. Translated by ALICE MEYNELL. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.—Mrs. Meynell has done a good service to English Catholics in translating M. Barré's work on Lourdes, which supplies in a small compass all that the general reader would wish to know of the history and present condition of the celebrated shrine of our Lady. The translation is excellent, and shows no traces of a foreign original; and the volume is a very handsome one, well adapted for a present. Our only complaint would be that the reproductions of twelve water-colours by M. Hoffbauer, with which it is illustrated, are almost all too vivid in colour to be agreeable or true to nature.

La Mission Providentielle de Jeanne d'Arc. Par le Très Révérend Père OLLIVIER, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris. 1894.—This interesting brochure comprises, in some thirty pages, the substance of a lecture delivered at Amiens on May 18, 1894, with subsequent additions by the reverend author. Starting from the incontrovertible statement that history contains no mission or figure comparable to the figure and mission of Joan of Arc, he goes on to give a series of eloquent descriptions of some of the most dramatic episodes of her extraordinary career. He shows, too, how little support the maid received from her fellow-countrymen after the first rejoicings over her early victories had subsided. Intrigued against by captains humiliated by her success, and by soldiers resentful of her reform of camp life, she stood alone among the enemies openly or covertly leagued against her, to whom her capture must have been matter rather for rejoicing than for lamentation.

The Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. By the Rev. C. J. BOWDEN, M.R. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company. 1894.—This reprint of two interesting lectures by Father J. Bowden recalls how large a share the Order of St. John had in the social history of England. The Priory on Banbury Hill in Oxfordshire, founded previous to 1209, was a centre of the charitable work and moral influence of the Order, until its final suppression by Elizabeth in the first year of her reign. The knights had houses too at High Wycombe and Thame in Oxfordshire, while in London their memory survives in the name of St. John's Wood, once the property of the hospitallers, and of Jerusalem Passage and St. John's Gate and Square in Clerkenwell. The Temple and Temple Gardens, conferred on them by Edward III., were originally taken on lease from them by the members of the Law Courts. These traditions were to some extent revived by the ceremony of June 1893, when St. John's Gate was re-dedicated by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to the work "for which it was built," and became the central court of the St. John Ambulance Association. Father Bowden gives frequent references to an article on the "Order of Malta," in the DUBLIN REVIEW for July 1859.

The Rambler's Return. By the Rev. MICHAEL P. HORGAN. Louth: J. W. Goulding. 1894.—Father Horgan has told in fluent verse, and with poetic feeling, the tale of a wanderer, led after many strange chances and changes to console the death-bed of a former comrade whose parting soul was overshadowed by the belief that he had killed him in a duel. The romantic scenery, first of the Lake of Geneva and then of St. Michael's Bay on the wild coast of Cornwall, gives a picturesque setting to the action of the poem.

Life of the Blessed Emily Bicchieri. London: Washbourne. 1894.—This anonymous volume is an interesting compilation from Italian sources of the life of a Dominican nun of the thirteenth century, whose virtues are commemorated in a Proper Office and Mass, by a concession granted in 1769. Endowed on her father's death with an ample fortune, she devoted it to the foundation of a Dominican convent in her native town of Vercelli, and led there a long life of sanctity affirmed by many miracles both before and after her death. The title of Blessed was conferred on her by common consent in her native country for four centuries before it was solemnly sanctioned by the decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated July 19, 1769.

Letters and Writings of Marie Lataste. Translated from the French by EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.—This volume, containing sixty letters exquisitely translated from the French, is a sequel to the “Life of Marie Lataste,” by the translator, published by him as the sixth volume of his Library of Religious Biography. The present volume, left by him ready for the press, has been brought out by his widow, who prefixes to it a short notice to that effect. The letters, mainly addressed to the spiritual director of the writer, are a wonderful revelation of her inner life, and of the series of visions and admonitions in which she held close communion with the invisible world. The beauty of the language in which they are narrated, combining as it does the most direct power of expression with perfect simplicity, is in itself a miracle, considering that they come from the pen of an ignorant village girl, who, as she says herself, could barely read and write. Still more wonderful is the insight displayed by them into supernatural truths, such as could only have been acquired by her through special revelation.

A Life's Decision. By T. W. ALLIES. London: Burns & Oates. 1894. Second Edition.—We are glad to welcome a second edition of Mr. Allies' valuable record of the momentous years of his life when he was groping towards the light with such an earnest endeavour to attain to it at the sacrifice of all his worldly hopes and prospects. His words help us to realise the agonising position of an Anglican clergyman, with a strong sense of the sanctity of his vocation, when he begins to doubt the validity of his ordination, and consequently of all the acts of his ministry. When the question is complicated by family ties and considerations for the temporal well-being of those dependent on the unhappy doubter's allegiance to his creed, the sacrifice for truth becomes indeed a terrible one. The arguments which convinced Mr. Allies in the teeth of such strong deterrent influences, forcibly presented as they are in this volume, should be of use in helping to solve the problems debated by other waverers under the like circumstances.

A Mother's Sacrifice, and Other Tales. By A. M. CLARKE. London: 18 West Square, S.E.—The touching story of Russian peasant life, which forms the first of the quartette comprised in this volume, has been translated from the Russian, while the other three are original. One of the latter, “Answered at Last,” turns on one of the psychological experiences, so full of fascination for readers at the present day, whether in fiction or in what purports

to be fact. The narrator witnesses in a vision a murder which actually takes place, unsuspected by the rest of the world, and his knowledge of which enables him to persuade the assassin when at the point of death to make his peace with heaven. A reason for a revelation, apparently motiveless at the time, is thus supplied years after its occurrence.

Les Jeudis du Pensionnat, du Collège, et de la Famille. Par l'Auteur des "Paillettes d'Or." Deuxième volume. Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 1894.—This volume should be a perfect treasure to parents, teachers, or heads of colleges when driven to their wits' end, as must often be the case, for some means of entertaining their young charges on a rainy holiday. Within its covers is a perfect repertory of amusement, and charades, riddles, acrostics, every form of word puzzle and rhyme combination, are interspersed with recipes for games and tricks, with droll anecdotes, and lists of words which, by their double and treble meanings, lend themselves to the bewilderment of the appointed guesser. The volume has, moreover, a certain literary value from the grace of language with which all its pleasantries, whether in prose or verse, are framed.

The Curé of Ars. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. 'The "Ave Maria," Notre Dame, Indiana.—The life of the poor shepherd lad, unlettered, unsophisticated, and so impenetrable to human learning that he only received Orders by special intervention of the Bishop on the ground of his exceptional piety after failing to pass the necessary examination, yet who, by the irresistible influence of his celestial sanctity, drew 80,000 pilgrims a year to his village of Ars, cannot be told too often. Miss O'Meara sets it in lucid sequence before us, and brings freshly home to our minds the marvel of that mysterious mingling of the natural and supernatural which the Church proclaims in those she canonises as saints. Feeble in body dull in intellect, without eloquence or learning, Jean-Marie Vianney irradiated from his mere presence an influence more potent than that of the greatest preachers, and was a fresh instance of the substitution of divine wisdom for human faculties in those chosen as the great exemplars of sanctity on earth.

The Heart and Songs of the Spanish Sierras. By GEORGE WHIT WHITE. London: Fisher Unwin. 1894.—The author supports his assertion that the true glory of Spain is found in its mountains, with the authority of an old Spanish chap book, which declares that "the nobility of Spain dwells nearest to the snow!"

The words form a suitable introduction to a volume which records a series of delightful journeys made in the most delightful way—viz., on a good horse, with the traveller's light luggage carried in saddle bags. Starting from Xerez, he visited Medina Sidonia, and other mountain towns and villages, situated amid the most romantic scenery, and still presenting those primitive aspects of life so rapidly disappearing from the world. The words and music of some characteristic national songs and dances are also contained in the volume.

Maelcho. By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS. London: Smith, Elder. 1894.—Miss Lawless has in this work done for the Ireland of the sixteenth century what Robert Louis Stevenson has done for Jacobite Scotland, and Mr. Stanley Weyman for Valois and Bourbon France. The framework of her tale resembles that of "Kidnapped," in so far as that it narrates the adventures of a boy hero, cast upon the world by the capture of his uncle's castle, and massacre of his kinsfolk. The scene is first laid in Connaught, amid the tribal wars and harryings to which that province was a prey. In escaping from the raid of the Anglo-Norman de Burghs, the fugitive survivor of his family falls into the hands of the wild Irish tribe of the O'Flaherties, and shared as a prisoner their savage life in the glens of Connemara. Borne with their fleet of curaghs to take part in the rising of the Desmonds and Fitzmaurices, he joins a party landed on the coast of Kerry with the oft baffled aim of driving the English across the Channel, but is again transferred by the fortune of war into the power and service of the latter. The lurid page of Irish history on which the narrative is focussed, starts out from the narrative in powerful and realistic presentment, calling up to the mind's eye a picture charged with horrors, without a single episode of gallantry or fair stand-up fight to redeem its record of cold-blooded butchery. The story of so many rival packs of wolves could scarcely be more unrelieved in its gruesome ferocity than this narrative, we doubt not, resting on a historical basis, of the doings of Ormonde and Desmond, of the Butlers and the Geraldines, with the English soldiery as the allies of the former, outdoing both in the universal rivalry of extermination.

Heart's Ease. By THEODORE TILTON. London: Fisher Unwin. 1894.—The author's muse is a prolific one, since this volume of some 400 pages is but one of two containing his completed works. There is a stirring rhythm in his verse which witnesses to genuine inspiration, and his ballad metres have the true ring of time and

tune. Their measured music comes as a relief after the *Æolian*-harp-like vagaries of many modern versifiers, much as a strain of national melody does in a symphony of the Wagnerian school. The verse rendering of many of the German legends is excellent, and "The Silver Bell of Stuttgart" with its echoing rhymes is among the best of these.

History of St. Philomena. Edited by CHARLES HENRY BOWDEN, Priest of the Oratory. London: Art & Book Co., Paternoster Row. 1894.—Little is known of this favoured saint beyond the fact that her relics were found in a Roman catacomb early in this century beneath three tiles bearing her name and the emblems of virginity and martyrdom; the "History of St. Philomena" is therefore mainly a record of the prodigies which have made her name and her shrine at Mugnano famous in the Church. Pope Gregory XVI. styled her the *Thaumaturga* of the nineteenth century; and she enjoys the singular distinction among the unknown saints of the catacombs of a proper office and feast. The marvels wrought at her tomb, and through her intercession, will seem strange even to Catholics unfamiliar with the shrines of southern Italy; the editor anticipating, not without reason, that they may excite the surprise, if not try the faith of some of his readers. His book is intended for Catholics, and we should not recommend it to any who fail to realise the Communion of Saints and the perpetual presence of the supernatural in the Church. It needs no apology for being more devotional than critical; for some of the prodigies related it offers little evidence, and makes no attempt to reconcile them with natural laws or to make them more easy of acceptance to an incredulous generation.

Divine manifestations are suited to the capacity of those who receive them, and may be coloured by the fancies of the minds through which they pass. Certain aspects of a fact or story will strike a certain class of minds more forcibly than others; and the attempt to describe supernatural appearances, or even to state them, will follow preconceived lines. Such unavoidable limitation of truth is not falsehood. In some such light the stories which perchance seem childish, trifling or incredible, appear as the natural expression by simple-minded, imaginative people of their wonder at the marvels occurring beneath their eyes. Making ample allowance, however, for the effects of the supernatural upon a class of observers so different from ourselves, there remains in this edifying narrative a vast body of miraculous intervention which is both well authenticated and well calculated to excite confidence in the power of the Saints, and to fill humble souls with admiration that God should give such power to men.

J. I. C.

Paillettes d'Or. Neuvième Série. Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 1894.—The pious periodical, popular amongst our French neighbours, which bears the expressive name of “Golden Spangles” is now celebrating what it terms its Silver Wedding. A collection of edifying little stories, of spiritual maxims, and of suggestions for the sanctification of life, it has been carrying on for the past twenty-five years the good work of scattering seeds of faith and piety. We mean nothing disrespectful, but only wish to suggest the character of the publication by describing it as a mixture of patriotism, piety, and fashion which is peculiarly Parisian. On p. 58 the puffs, powders, and pigments, with which the fashionable *jeune fille* is supposed to be familiar, are employed to symbolise the graces and virtues which render the soul pleasing to God. A better story on p. 114 tells of the Confraternity of the Holy Omelette, the associates being a few young commercial travellers whose apostolate consists in arriving early at *table d'hôte*, and calling aloud for *maigre* dinners. “Golden Spangles” is thoroughly French in both style and manner, and although it may suit children and school girls, we should prefer to see something much more solid and masculine in the hands of our English people.

J. I. C.

L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ. Avec des annotations par le R. P. GABRIEL BOUFFIER, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Avignon: Aubanel Frères. 1894.—The editor believes that “the faithful who enjoy reading the ‘Following of Christ’ like to find appended some pious reflections which may sum up its teaching, and make it more useful and practical!” (vii.). For the benefit of such misguided persons the Père Bouffier has added to each chapter meditations and developments of the text. It requires some hardihood to attempt such a task. Those who like the milk or wine of their spiritual reading plentifully diluted with water may care for this edition, which is otherwise well printed and neat.

The Sacred Heart, and Other Sermons. By the Rev. ALFRED FAWKES. London: Burns & Oates.—A little volume of brief and literary sermons, in which the language is well-chosen and often poetical, and the thoughts are never commonplace and sometimes original. The sermons leave the impression of being written as essays, and not so well suited for preaching.

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